

DA
920
D63

SIDE-LIGHTS ON
THE TAIN AGE
AND OTHER STUDIES.

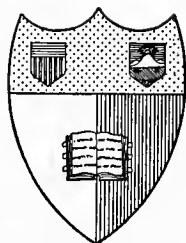


MAIŠHÉAD ní C. Dobr.
(M. E. DOBBS)



PRICE, 2/6 Net.

DA
920
D63



Cornell University Library

Ithaca, New York

BOUGHT WITH THE INCOME OF THE
FISKE ENDOWMENT FUND

THE BEQUEST OF
WILLARD FISKE

LIBRARIAN OF THE UNIVERSITY 1868-1883

1905

The date shows when this volume was taken.

To renew this book copy the call No. and give
to the librarian.

JUL 12 1908
Int. Lib. NYSILL

HOME USE RULES

All Books subject to recall

All borrowers must register in the library to borrow books for home use.

All books must be returned at end of college year for inspection and repairs.

Limited books must be returned within the four week limit and not renewed.

Students must return all books before leaving town. Officers should arrange for the return of books wanted during their absence from town.

Volumes of periodicals and of pamphlets are held in the library as much as possible. For special purposes they are given out for a limited time.

Borrowers should not use their library privileges for the benefit of other persons.

Books of special value and gift books, when the giver wishes it, are not allowed to circulate.

Readers are asked to report all cases of books marked or mutilated.

Do not deface books by marks and writing.

Cornell University Library

DA 920.D63

Side-lights on the Tain age and other st



3 1924 028 055 774

olin



Cornell University Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

SIDE-LIGHTS ON THE TAIN AGE AND OTHER STUDIES

MARGARET M. C. DOBS.

M. C. DOBS.



DUNDALK:
WM. TEMPEST, PRINTER.
1917.

~~Celtic~~

~~PB 1329~~

~~D 63~~

A. 540508



bhoillac.

1 nōōiḡ ḡo mbainḡeacō mic-léiḡinn a bīor aḡ oéanam
mion-ḡḡrúuīḡṡe ar ḡeancār ar oṡīḡe tairḡe ar an leabairín
ḡeo cuirim é or comair an ḡobail. Ir maīṡ ir eol oom
nac bḡuil oerḡeacō oā bḡuil le ḡāo ḡa na ceirṡeannaiḡ ḡeo
ḡaīṡe aḡam-ḡa ac tā ḡūil aḡam ḡo ḡcuiṡeoāo mo ḡaoṡar
le oaoimīḡ eile, ḡo laḡoōāo ḡé a ḡaoṡar-ḡan aḡur ḡo
ḡābīōṡaīḡ ḡé mōḡān ama oōīḡ. Air oōiḡ ḡo mbac amīaīḡ
beār tairḡim mo leabairín o oaeōilḡeoirīḡ ir o'aoḡaiḡ
léiḡinn mo ṡīḡe.

I publish this little book in the hope that it may be of use
to students who are doing research-work in the details of our
ancient history. I am well aware that any study of such de-
tails cannot be final, but the work that I have done may save
other people time and trouble. With this hope I offer my
book to Irishmen and to the students of Ireland.

Maīḡḡeacō Nī C. Oobḡ,

Coir-abairinn-oāla,

Co. Aoṡḡoma.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
1. CLANNA DEDAD 	5
2. COEMGEN CONGANCHNES 	24
3. CELTCHAIR MAC CUTHECHAIR 	30
4. EOCHU MAC LUCHTA 	40
5. ETAR 	53
6. CÓIR ANMANN	57
7. ORGAIN DIND RIG AND CHARIOT-BURIAL ..	72
8. THE BLACK PIG'S DYKE AND THE CAMPAIGN OF THE TÁIN BÓ CUAILGNE 	79

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF MS. AND PRINTED SOURCES.

- Aid. C. ; Aided Celtchair in Todd Lectures XIV.
- Anecd. ; Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts.
- BB ; facsimile of Book of Ballymote.
- BS ; Bansenchus.
- CA ; Cóir Anmann in *Irische Texte* III, 2.
- CCC ; *Caithréim Conghail Cláiringhnigh*, edit. MacSweeney.
- CR ; the Celtic Review.
- CRR ; *Cath Rúis na Ríg*, edit. Hogan.
- Dinds. ; Dindsenchus.
- Eg. ; Egerton MSS. in the British Museum.
- FG ; MacFirbis' Book of Genealogies. Copy in R.I.A.
- FM ; Annals of the Four Masters.
- Gl M ; the Glenmasan MS., ed. MacKinnon.
- IT ; *Irische Texte*.
- K ; Keating's History, ed. Dinneen.
- Laud ; Laud 610 in *Zeitschrift für C.P.* VIII.
- Lecan ; Book of Lecan.
- LG ; *Leabar Gabala*, ed. MacAlister & Mac Neill.
- LL ; facsimile of Book of Leinster.
- LU ; *Leabar na hUidre*.
- MR ; *Cath Maghe Ratha*, ed. O Donovan.
- MU ; *Mesca Ulad*, ed. Hennessy.
- Onom. ; *Onomasticon Gaedelicum*.

Rawl. ; facsimile of Rawlinson, B 302, in Bodleian.

RC ; Revue Celtique.

Sc. M. ; Scél Mucci mic Dáthó, ed. K. Meyer.

SSE ; Senchus Síl Ebhir.

SSI ; Senchus Síl hIr.

TBC ; Táin Bó Cuailgne.

TL ; Todd Lecture Series.

YBL ; Yellow Book of Lecan.

ZCP ; Zeitschrift fur Celtische Philologie.

H. 1. 15	} MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin.
H. 1. 17	
H. 2. 7	
H. 2. 16	
H. 3. 17	
H. 4. 13	

CLANNA DEDAD.

THE name "Dedad" appears in about ten different forms; Dedhadh, Degad, Deaghaidh, etc. For a complete list of these and for the grammatical forms of the name the article on "Dedad" in the R.I.A. dictionary should be consulted.

Who were the Clanna D.? The name occurs frequently as a synonym for the Érainn.

According to McNeill the name Érainn, or Erna, indicates one of the oldest population-groups in Ireland. (Proc. R.I.A. XXIX, C, 4).

In the genealogies the eponymous ancestor of the Érainn is given as Ailill Erann, descended from Eremon. The eponymous ancestor of Clanna D. is placed ninth in descent from Ailill. This implies that Irish genealogists considered Clanna D. as a section of the Érainn.

That the Érainn and Clanna D. could claim descent from Eremon was a matter of doubt. This comes out in the chapter dealing with these peoples in FG (p. 368). This section is made up of a number of "extracts from old books" which MacFirbis put together without comment or correction. The first extract, in prose, is also found in H. 3. 17, col. 792. MacFirbis' copy seems the most accurate and translates as follows:

Fiacha Fer Mara mac Aongh-
usa Tuirmigh aon mac aige .i.
Oilill Earand .i. Oilill an
Fherand .i. Earno .i. ferann
sen Earna do bhadar ann do
Fheruib Bolg ⁊ ró [bai
imrad in mac iar]¹ sin .i. Oilill
Erond mac Fiachaidh ⁊ baoi
dalta ag Fiacha Fir Mara .i.
Oilill Earond mac Oililla
Laobhchoraigh do chloind

Fiacha Fer Mara, son of
Aongus Tuirmech, had one son,
viz., Oilill Earand, viz., Oilill
of the land, viz., the Earno
viz., the land of the old Earna
who were there, of the Fir
Bolgs, and the son was . . .
after that, viz., Oilill Erond,
son of Fiacha, and he was
foster-son to Fiacha Fer Mara
.i. Oilill Earond, son of

¹) From H. 3. 17.

Iotha mac Breoghain ⁊ tug Fiacha F. a bhendachtain fóir a dhalta .i. for Oilill Earond uair as aige baoi an chlannmhaicne [imda]¹ ⁊ ma rádha gur bo mac do fein ⁊ as aire sin bearthar Erno go hAonghus ⁊ go hErimhón ⁊ cia berthar ní dia síol dóibh acht as do síol Lúighteach mac Iotha no dno as do síol Er mac Ebir Finn dhóibh no as do Chlannuibh Deaghuidh dhóibh ⁊ as edhsaidhe as fíre ann uair ⁊ ro bhadar Erno ⁊ Clanna Deaghaidh i ccóimflaithius ⁊ i ccóimhrighe for Cloinn Ebhir Finn ⁊ Dergtine ⁊ *cecinit* :

Oilill Laobhchorach, of the race of Ith son of Breoghan ⁊ Fiacha F. gave his blessing to his foster-son, viz., to Oilill Earond, for his were the numerous offspring, on account of the saying (?) he was his own son and thence the Erno are traced back to Aonghus and to Erimhon and, though traced back, they are not of their race, but they are of the race of Lughaidh, son of Ith, or else of the race of Er, son of Eber Finn, or of the Clanna Deaghuidh, and this is nearer the truth because the Erno and Clanna Deaghaidh were in joint rule and sovereignty over Clanna Ebhir Finn and the Dergtine ; as it is sung :

H. 3. 17. breaks off here, but MacFirbis gives the poem which should follow :

“Ceneul Fiachaigh finn Fir Mara árd ós féraibh,
Tét is Eochaidh Fotat, Ulaidh ⁊ Deaghaidh.
Clanna Tet is Eochaidh Suirigh aicme remain
naoi meic Fiachaigh is mac Muirígh maicne Deaghaidh.
Clanna Deaghaidh na trí Cairbre do Thuath Erand
Corb, Taeth, Aithir ⁊ Corb Fremuinn
Cuig meic Cuirc ro ghabhsad atha,
Lia acca la moran mennath cia at Caerthann thuaat
Cinn mórán cinn Fir Mara cennach n-íomchar.
Corca Duithne do bo leath sruithe siol Fionnchon.
Caillis, Bendan is mac Damain tar lear iathach
teora athach Clanna Aithir cineul Fiachach.

¹) From H. 3. 17.

" The race of fair Fiacha Fir Mara, high over men,
 Tet and Eochaidh Fotat, the Ulaidh and Deaghaidh.
 The children of Tet and Eochaidh Suirech, a pre-eminent tribe.
 Nine sons of Fiacha and the son of Muirech sons of Deaghaidh.
 Children of Deaghaidh are the three Cairbres of the Tuath
 Erand.

Corb, Taeth, Aithir, and Corb Fremuin five sons of Corc went,
 they had many creeks and many dwellings. . . .

Corca Duithne were of the seed of
 Fionnchu.

Caillis, Bendan and the son of Damain over meadowy seas
 three tenants of Clann Aithir, the race of Fiacha."

The poem has really nothing to do with the prose passage preceding it. It serves to show that there were traditions and genealogies lost before MacFirbis' time, as he does not include many of the names in the poem in his prose extracts. I have not found them elsewhere in any of the MSS. I have searched.

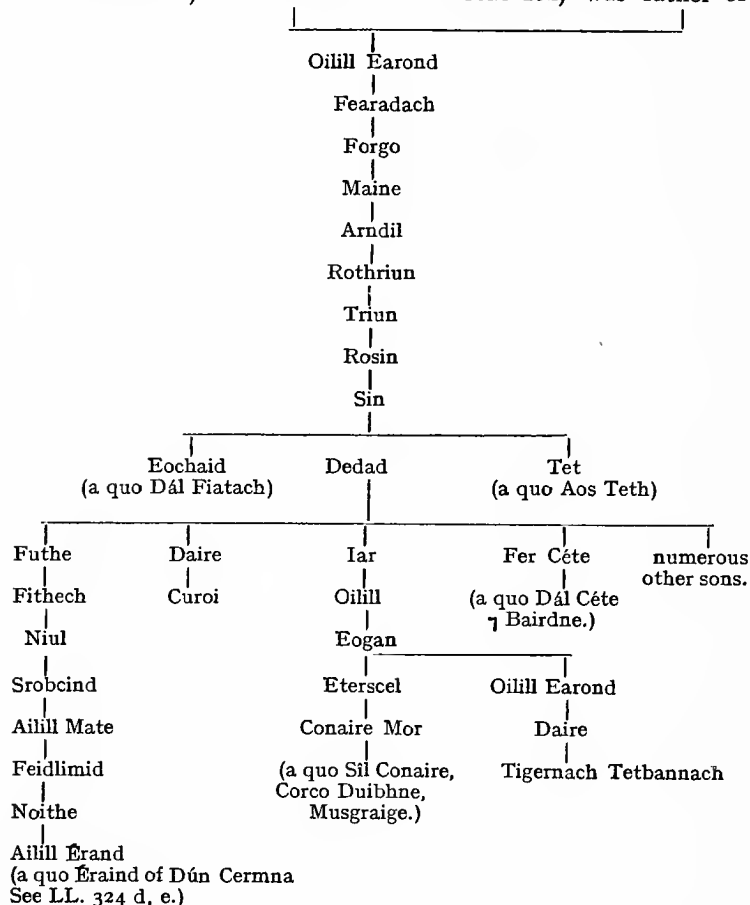
It is interesting to note that the name "Earna" was originally derived from Fir Bolgs, "old Earna of the Fir Bolgs."

In FM., vol. 1, p. 46, there is a reference to "the Ernai of the Fir Bolgs where Loch Erne is . . ." If the Érainn were really a Fir Bolg race then the pedigree of Ailill Earond back to Eremon is a later invention to glorify Dedad and his descendants. It is the more suspicious that Ailill E. is called foster-son of Fiacha F. and his real father said to be an Ailill of the race of Ith, "the tribe of the Gaedhil *not* of the race of Miledh."¹ (Genel Corco Laidhe in BB). This bears out the final statement that "the Erno are *not* of the seed of Eremon." Practically their origin was unknown, which makes it the more probable they were Fir Bolg. The last suggestion that "they were of the Clanna D.," is an error caused by the fact that at a later date one particular tribe descended from Dedad were called Érainn while other descendants had tribal names of their own. But the name Érainn is older and of wider extent than the name Clanna D. The following table will help to make the above argument clear:

¹) See pp. 42, 43.

According to K. 2, pp. 179, 229,
 Fiacha Fear Mara (descended
 from Eremon) was father of

According to MacFirbis, Oilill
 Laobhchorach (descended
 from Ith) was father of



Before commenting on this I shall give further extracts from MacFirbis :

Sin mac Roisin tri mec leis
 .i. Deaghaidh o bhfuilid Clanna
 Deaghaidh 7 Earna 7 Mairtine

Sin son of Rosin had three
 sons, viz., Deaghaidh, from
 whom are Clann Deaghaidh

7 Eochaidh o ffuiliid Dail
Fhiatach 7 Tet o ffuil Aos
Teth.

Cetre mec airegdha ag Deagh-
aidh mac Sin .i. Oilill, Dáire,
Fuithe 7 Bracan.

Mac do Oilill Iar.

Eoghan mac Iair a quo mac
Iair.

Conaire mac Edirsgeóil mic
Eoghain mic Oililla mic Iair
mic Deaghaidh mic Sin. Iar
mac Deaghaidh a quo Siol
Conaire.

Fuithe mac Deaghaidh a quo
Earn a acht as uaisle Siól
Conaire ná Clanna Fuithe.

Do Siól Conaire .i. Musgraige
in gach du ittád 7 Dail Riada
7 Duibhne.

Edirsgel 7 Oilill Earond da
mac Eoghain mic Oililla mic
Iair mic Deaghaidh 7 *cecinit* :

(Poem omitted by MacFirbis).

Dail mBairdne .i. Clann Fir
Cedne 7 Clann Fuithe mic
Deaghadh.

Deaghadh mac Sin mic
Deghaidh mic Oililla Earond
mic Eoghain.

Tigearnach Teudbhannach
mac Dáire mic Oililla Eronn
mic Eoghain mic Oililla mic
Iair 7 *cecinit* :

(Poem omitted by MacFirbis).

Condla mac Fir *Cetní* mic

and the Earn a and the Mair-
tine, and Eochaidh from
whom are Dail Fiatach, and
Tet from whom are the Aos
Teth.

Deaghaidh son of Sin had
four famous sons, viz., Oilill,
Daire, Fuithe and Bracan.

Iar was a son of Oilill.

Eoghan son of Iar, from
whom is the son of Iair.

Conaire son of Edersgel son
of Eoghan son of Oilill son of
Iar son of Deghadh son of
Sin. Iar, son of Deghadh,
from whom are the race of
Conaire.

Fuithe son of Deaghaidh
from whom are the Earn a,
but the race of Conaire are
nobler than Clann Fuithe.

Of the race of Conaire are
the Musgraige where ever they
are, and Dail Riada and the
Duibhne.

Edersgel and Oilill Earond
are two sons of Eoghan son
of Oilill son of Iar son of
Deaghaidh as it is sung :

.

The Dail Bairdne, viz., Clann
Fir Cedne and Clann Fuithe
son of Deaghaidh.

Deaghadh son of Sin son of
Deghadh son of Oilill Earond
son of Eoghan.

Tigearnach Teudbhannach
son of Daire son of Oilill

Deaghaidh a ffuil Dail Cedne
ar ba lethrann Dail Cedne ⁊
Dail Dabherg.

. . . mac Eremhoin mic Ethir
mic Etsin mic Deaghaidh mic
Sin.

Conall Anglonnach mac
Deaghaidh a quo Conaille
Murtemhne.

Eronn son of Eoghan son of
Oilill son of Iar as it is sung :

.

Condla son of Fer Cetni son
of Deaghadh from whom are
Dail Cedne, for Dail Cedne
and Dail Dabherg were half a
division.

. . . son of Eremhon son of
Ethir son of Etsin son of
Deaghaidh son of Sin.

Conall Anglonnach son of
Deaghaidh from whom are
the Conaille Muirthemhne.

A few disjointed names follow here and then the pedigree of the Conaille is worked out. As it has nothing strictly to do with Clanna Dedad I pass on to an extract on p. 380 :

A derbhadh ceadus gurab
do Eurnuibh Clanna Deagh-
adh uile .i. Deaghaidh mac
Sin do Eurnuibh Mumhan oide
Duach Dalta Deaghaidh : ro
furromsiod Eurna ⁊ Siól Erem-
hoin for Eochaidh Fer Fuirme
.i. fer fôr ar fuirmhiodh ⁊ as
iad do rinneadh an foirmduig-
hadh sin .i. Clanna Deaghaidh
⁊ as iad Dáirfhine do bhí in
adhaigh Dergthene .i. Erna ó
Deghadh ⁊ Dairfine (Erna)
o Daire mac Deaghaidh
sloinnter ⁊ as ó Ernoibh gach
dara righ anes go Conaire mac
Mogha Lamha ni iad Clanna
Fuithe sin.

Dech ccatha ro meabhaidh
ria nEurnaibh fôr Ultaibh ⁊

To prove first that all Clanna
Deaghadh are of the Eurna ;
that is, Deagadh son of Sin of
the Munster Eurna, guardian
of Duach Dalta Deagadh.
The Eurna and Siol Eremhon
abased Eochaidh Fer Fuirme,
i.e., 'the man who was abased,'
and it was they, the Clanna
Deaghadh, who inflicted that
abasement. It was the Dáir-
fine who were opposed to the
Derg-thene, viz., the Erna
are named from Deghadh and
the Dáir-fine (Erna) from Daire
son of Deaghadh. As every
second king down to Conaire
son of Mogh Lamha was of the
Erna those are not Clann
Fuithe.

a seacht ria nUlltaibh for Eurnuibh ⁊ ní hiad Clanna Fuithe sin acht Dail Fiatach.

Ró ghabhsad Eurna for Siol nEbhír. Iar sin ro gabh Iar mac Deaghaidh righe ⁊ a braithre .i. Daire ⁊ Binde, Ros ⁊ Foraidh ⁊ Glas ⁊ Coinganches a quo Corcraide, Garbraighe, Grugraighe, Bentraighe ⁊ Beathraighe ⁊ ní do chlannaibh Fuithe aoin-rí dibhsin.

Fuithe, tres mac Deaghaidh a quo Erna, mac lais .i. Fiódhach; mac doiside Nial no Níul, mac do Niul Sroibhgend, trí meic la Sroibhgend .i. Rosa, Nemedh ⁊ Mata. Oilill mac Mata mic Sroibhgend a quo Erna.

The Eurna defeated the Ultu in ten battles and the Ultu defeated the Eurna in seven and those were not Clanna Fuithe, but Dail Fiatach.

The Eurna conquered Siol Ebhir. After that Iar son of Deagadh and his brothers seized the kingdom, viz., Daire, Binde, Ros, Foradh, Glas and Coinganches from whom spring the Corcraide, Garbraighe, Grugraighe, Bentraighe, Beathraighe; and none of their kings were of Clanna Fuithe.

Fuithe (the third son of Deagadh from whom are the Erna) had a son, viz., Fiodach; his son was Nial or Níul; his son was Sroibhgend; Sroibhgend had three sons, viz., Rosa, Nemedh and Mata. Oilill son of Mata son of Sroibhgend was ancestor of the Erna.

MacFirbis gives a good deal more matter dealing with later branches of the race, but these would require separate treatment. I know no other statement dealing so fully with Clanna D. It is important as containing all that MacFirbis was able to collect in his day. It is unlikely any fuller information is still in existence. Some of the extracts are mere fragments and suggest that MacFirbis was unable to decipher the complete passage. He does not state, unfortunately, what books he copied from. Some of his genealogies and statements occur in the official Munster history, the *Leabar Muimhneach* or *Senchus Síol Ebhir*. I shall refer to this in future as S.S.E. There are many copies of this, notably in LL. 319.; Rawl. 147; Lecan 405; BB 171; 23. N. 30, and 23. E. 26, R.I.A.

When we consider MacFirbis' statement as a whole several points stand out clearly :

(a) There was complete uncertainty as to the true origin of Clanna D. The descent from Erimon is practically denied. We know that the main branches of Erimonian families were centred in Connaught and Leinster. The Clanna D. were most certainly a West Munster people. A connection with the Corco Laidhe, descendants of Ith, is far more probable.

(b) The four names before Dedad have an artificial sound and suggest deliberate faking.

(c) The name Oilill Earond, = Ailill Erand, occurs before and after Dedad. It is quite possible that a descendant might receive the name of a famous ancestor, but the fact also suggests that the later Ailill E., the head of the only tribe descended from Dedad who were called Érainn, suggested the idea of an eponymous ancestor from whom all Érainn past and present descended. The Érainn included Clanna Dedad, Síl Conaire, Dál Céte as well as the Érainn from Fúthe. But apparently Érainn was considered a plebeian name of Fir Bolg origin and the leading families preferred to be known by other titles. For information on the Érainn see Proc. R.I.A. XXIX, C. 4, and "Studies in early Irish History," by Rhys. This paper only deals with the section of them known as Clanna Dedad. I shall now state all that I have found bearing on these latter and their place in Irish records.

To begin with Dedad from whom they took their name : there are no details about him in any copy of SSE. known to me, but an Ulster text, the *Caithreim Conghail Claíringhnigh*, gives him a definite position and dates. This text refers to the period one or two generations before the Táin. It therefore professes to relate events occurring circa 100-50 B.C. It represents Ireland as dominated by the Munster tribe, the Síl Ebhir. Their king is called Lughaid Luaighne.

"Lughaidh gave the kingship of the two provinces of Munster to Deaghaidh mac Sin whose progeny was remarkable, i.e. forty sons :

"Thirty sons had Deaghaidh
the best of children,

and other sons thereafter . . .” C.C.C., p. 3

When Lughaidh held a Council at Temair “he placed Deghaidh on his right hand,” p. 13.

When the decision of the council was announced Deghaidh persuaded Fergus (Conghal’s rival) to keep his agreement with Lughaidh, p. 33.

When Lughaidh sent an army against Conghal a son of Deghaidh was among the leaders, p. 35.

When Conghal finally defeated and slew Lughaidh “the provincial kings acknowledged him, including Deaghadh mac Sin,” p. 189.

According to this text Dedad (Deghaidh) was an ally and counsellor of Síl Ebhir, but subordinate to them. This fits in with the name given to Lughaidh’s grandson, “Duach Dalta Dedaíd = Duach foster-son of Dedad.” As Rawl., p. 147, a. puts it: “Duach, foster-son of Dedad mac Sin, of the Erna.” A story was invented to explain this obvious name which can be found in *Cóir Anmann*, par. 29. Fosterage of children was usually a favour from a superior to inferior or vassal families.

According to H.3. 17, cols. 751, 845; Lecan, p. 370, and Mac Firbis, p. 68:

“Cecht son of Oilill mac Madach was foster-son to Degath mac Sin. Oilill gave Degad with Cecht from Fidinís southward to Luimniuch.”

Dedad is frequently mentioned as one of the five *cóiceadaidh* = provincial kings, who held Ireland at the period of the *Táin*. (See 23. N. 30, p. 54; Bsynchr. in BB.; K., vol. 2, p. 185; see p. 41).

There is an allusion to a Degadh in *Duan Finn*, pp. 84, 198.

“The sleep in the east of Degadh when he took Conchinn daughter of Binne . . .”

This may refer to some lost story about Dedad of which I can find no other trace.

According to MacFirbis (*vide supra*, p. 8) Dedad was one of three sons of Sin. The other two were: Eochaidh, ancestor of the *Dál Fiatach* of N.E. Ulster, and Teth, ancestor of a tribe, the *Aos Teth*. The history of the *Dál Fiatach* does not concern

Clanna D. There are a few references to Teth, as follows :

“ Teth, son of Dega, a man with spirit,
from him came the Aes Teth
in the land of Tri Ross Roduibni . . .”—C.A., par. 283.

“ Dedad and Teth two sons of Sin.”—LL. 324 e, BB. 139 a.

Tri Ross Roduibni cannot be identified with certainty, but the name suggests a connection with the territory of the Corco Duibhne, descendants of Dedad in west Kerry. (See *Onom.* for T.R. Roduibni and Aes Teth).

Febra mac Sin “ brother of Dedad,” is said have given his name to Cend Abrat in Co. Limerick. He is not mentioned in the genealogies. (*Dinds. in Lecan*, p. 473 ; R.C. XV).

We now come to the Clanna Dedad proper : MacFirbis only mentions four sons of Dedad, while CCC. credits him with forty, and MR. 212. speaks of “ seventeen sons of D.” SSE. names seven sons. This last document supplies the reason why Clanna D. were so conspicuous among the Earra :

“ Duach, foster-son of Dedaid son of Sin of the Erna, fell by Fachtna Fathach of the Ultu. When Duach fell by the Ultu the Erna and Síl Erimoin abased Eochaid son of Duach. The Erna conquered Síl Ebhir and Iar son of Dedaid seized the throne of Munster along with his brothers ; Daire, Ross, Binne, Forai, Glas and Conganchnes. Clann Duach were banished into west Munster.”—(*Rawl.*, p. 147 a. ; cp. LL, 319 a ; B.B., 171 a ; *Laud*, fo. 93a ; 23.N.30, p. 51 ; *Lecan*, p. 416 ; CA., pars. 31, 32.)

This paragraph from the official Munster history is important. It explains the rôle played by Clanna Dedad in the literature of the Táin period as the leading family in Munster. To show the exact relation of Clanna D. to the Táin cycle I give the following list of all members of the Clann known to me :

Iar—the first king of Munster of Clanna D. The direct ancestor of Conaire Mór.

Dáire—the second king of Munster of Clanna D. The father of Curoi. His wife was Morand Manandach, sister of Eochaidh Eachbeoil of Scotland (*BS.*, in *Lecan*, 388, D. 2. 1, 95 rev.) He had a daughter, Cindit or Cinnfhinn, who was mother of “ Aengus Osraidi from whom Ossory’s royal race

descend." (CA. 213, Lecan 388). He had another daughter, Fingile, of whom the following story is told:

"The first speech of Noidhiu Nae mBreathach son of Fingile daughter of Dáire mac Dedad and of the hero who came from the sea. She was guarded so that none should marry her, for Dáire's druids told him that he would live as long as his daughter had no son and that came true. The maiden was once playing at the edge of the sea with the daughter of Noiden mac Noimaill when she saw the hero at her side and she conceived and was pregnant as is said for nine months and years. She bore a son after that, and Dáire died, and nine sentences were uttered after the birth in the first hour, etc."—(H. 2. 16, col. 810).

This story is told in the SSE. in connection with Dáire, but with variations. It is evidently taken from another source than the version in H. 2, 16. It can be compared with LL, 319, a; Rawl. 147, a; 23. N, 30, p. 52. (See Introduction, LL., p. 30.)

One of two Munster tribes called Dairfine claimed descent from Dáire mac D. (See LL., 319 b, 26; Rawl. 147 b., 13; CA., 68.) According to O'Donovan they were a powerful people in second, third, and fourth centuries A.D., not of Milesian descent. Their power was crippled by the race of Oilill Olum," = Síl Ebhir. (See Dairfine in Onom.)

Fer Chéte—father of Condla, a king of the Erna. (H. 3, 17, col. 846 and Laud, fo. 104 a.) The Dál Céte took their name from him. (Lecan 455.) They were one of the twelve noble tribes of Ireland. (H. 3, 17, p. 790), and included eleven out of twelve of the chief tribes of the Erna. (See FG., p. 382).

Futhe—ancestor of the Éraind = Erna of Dún Cearmna. (LL., 324 e). As already stated MacFirbis insists on the plebeian character of this tribe.

Conganchnes—Coemgen Conganchnes. See next paper on C.C.

Ross or Rus—one of the six sons of D. named in SSE. as aiding Iar to overthrow Síl Ebhir. He was one of the four guarantors of Clann Umoir in conjunction with Cet mac Magach,

Cuchullain, Conall Cernach, and fought a duel with Cing mac Umoir. He is called "Rus from Druim Cháin." (LL., 152 a; D. 2. 2, 46 a).

He took part in avenging the death of Curoi on Ulster. (Brinna Ferchertne).

Foroi = one of the six sons. See Ross.

Glas = " " " " " " "

Binne = " " " " " " "

According to 23. N, 30, p. 51, Dún Binne was named from him.

Lí = one of the six sons. See Ross. This name appears in no copy of the SSE. except 23. N, 30. I suspect it to be a misreading of the contraction for "aroile" which occurs in other copies after "Conganchnes." It is, however, possibly a real name. Tráighlí, = Tralee, is derived from it according to 23. N, 30, p. 51.

Derg—the son sent by Dedad to fight against Conghal Cláiringnech of Ulster. He was slain in the battle of Inbher Tuaighe, (mouth of Bann), by Fergus mac Rosa. (CCC., pp. 35, 65.)

Lughaid Lamhderg—one of the guarantors for the safety of Fergus mac Rosa at Emain after the murder of Clann Uisneach. (B. IV, 1, p. 127. R.I.A.)

Conchend—lived near Druim Assail, Limerick. Fergus mac Rosa was nursed in his house when wounded. Curoi visited him there. (Dinds. Droma Assail LL., 202 a.)

Echbel—slew Irloth son of Fergus mac Leite of Ulster when raiding Temair Luachra, the territory of Clanna D. (Sc. M., par. 7).

Senach Garb—died on Sliabh Mis, = Slieve Mish in Dingle. (LL, 198, a.)

Gabalglinni } two members of Clanna D. present in Temair
Faenglinni } —Luachra when raided by the Ulstermen under
Conchobhar. (Mesca Ulad, p. 41.)

Garman Glas—buried at Loch Garmann = Wexford Harbour. This is stated as an alternative explanation of the place name. (D. 2, 2, 27 a; H. 1, 15, p. 450; LL. 159 a.)

Clettach = buried at Clettach on the Boyne. This is also an

alternative explanation of a place-name. (LL. 166 b.)

Garban—avenged the death of Febra mac Sin at Cend Abrat = Sliab Riach in Limerick? Gave his name to Dungarvan. (LL. 198 b, Lecan, p. 473; Rennes Dinds., par. 48.)

Gainne—sent as foster-son to Connaught, apparently to Oilill and Medb.

Comann—mentioned as a son of Dedad in same passage as Gainne. (23. N, 30. p. 76 R.I.A.).

Etsin—mentioned as a son of Dedad. (See MacFirbis above, p. 10.)

Dea—from whom Inber Dea in Crich Cualann is named. (Dinds., par. 40, R.C. XV, p. 429; D. 2. 2, 27 a, R.I.A.).

There are names of other sons attributed to Dedad which are doubtful:

Ailill }
Braccan } are included by MacFirbis among four sons of D. It seems likely they are confused with the sons of a later Dedad of the Eoganacht. His two sons are given in LL. 321, d, as "Ailill and Braccan." Their dates would be somewhere in the fourth century A.D. The names occur nowhere in the literature of the Táin cycle. They are, I think, more likely to belong to the later pedigree.

Tigernach Tetbannach, or Tetbullech, is called "son of Degadh" in Gl. M. (CR, III, p. 15) and his son in the same MS. is called a commander of "Clanna Deccadh." In Lecan, pp. 457, 588, and FG. (see above, p. 9) he is called "son of Daire son of Ailill Earand," descendants of Dedad (see p. 8). He is called "son of Luchta" in Bk. Fermoy, p. 19; Bk. Lismore, fo. 96, a. He is frequently called king of one of the Munsters co-temporaneously with Dedad or Cúruí. (See paper on Eochu mac Luchta, p. 40).

Conall Anglondach is called son of Dedad in the *Senchus Síol hÍr* (Lecan 251, BB, 152). He was ancestor of the Conaille Muirthemne of Ulster. But the genealogists are uncertain, for they give two other possible pedigrees for C.A. The name also occurs elsewhere as a son of Irial Glunmar (MU., p. 4) and as a son of Eochaid Feidlech (Cath Leitr. Ruibhe).

Another possible explanation may be that the name "Dedad" occurs in Ulster quite distinct from Clanna D. proper. The Roll-call of Ulster in the Táin begins with "Dedad" (LL. 94, a.). A "Domanchinn son of Degad in Ulster" is mentioned in *Tocm. Luaine*, RC, vol. 24. A "Daig son of Deaghadh" is one of the Ulster champions at Rosnaree (CRR., p. 72). When Conall is traced to Dedad it does not necessarily indicate the Dedad of Kerry. He and his four brothers may therefore, I think, be left outside the genuine Clanna Dedad.

The above list contains all the names of sons of Dedad that I have found so far.

A daughter, Echtge, is associated with Sliabh Echtge = Slieve Aughty in Clare. (*Dinds. Sl. E.* ; see TL. 10, p. 305).

Other members of the family who come under the heading "Clanna D." rather than "Éraind = Erna" are :

Eogan son of Iar son of D. He was the third king of Munster of Clanna D. He was slain by Enna Munchain of Síl Ebhir. (See SSE. in MSS. quoted).

Curoi son of Daire. The most celebrated of all Clanna D. His story is exhaustively analysed in ZCP, IX, p. 189.

Lugaid son of Curoi, the slayer of Cuchullain, slain in his turn by Conall Cearnach. Took part in the Táin Bó Flidais with Oilill and Medb, whose daughter he married. (See Gl. M., C.R. III, pp. 15—125).

Uidnia son of Curoi from whom sprang the Dál nUidne = nUidine (Lecan, 450 ; H. 2. 7, p. 157).

Croch Mor son of Dáire Dornmar of Clanna D. was slain at Ath Crocha by Cuchullain. The Dáire indicated here must be the same as Curoi's father and not the latter Dáire Dornmar, grandson of Conaire Mór (D. 2. 2, 83 b).

Condla or Conall son of Fer Cète. For his story see H. 3, 17, col. 846 ; Laud, fo. 104 a.

Conall	}	three sons (or brothers) of Coemgen Conganchnes. For their families, see paper on C.C.
Buachall		
Corc		

Three Dubs of Imlech	}	six princes of Clanna D.
„ Dergs of Sruthra		

They were slain by Cuchullain in the Táin. (TBC. in LU. 72 ; see Ériu II. i, p. 55).

Nine sons of Fiacha, }
A son of Muirech, } are called Clanna D. in the poem quoted
Three Cairbres, } by MacFirbis, v. s, p. 6.

Magach, wife of Cathbad, grandmother of Cuchullain and Conall Cernach, mother of Cet, was of Clanna D. according to Lecan, 448 and H. i, 17, p. 158, b.

Corrann }
Geiscneisgael } two grand-daughters of D. were exchanged in
fosterage with children of Medb. (23. N. 30,
p. 76).

Dárine, wife of Mac Con, in 2nd century A.D. is called daughter of Dedadh. (Fian, TL. XVI, p. 36).

Many of the allusions given above are of no interest in themselves, but taken in the mass they help to establish the real position of Clanna D. Their value also lies in the fact that they are scattered references. They are not the composition of one mind or the compilation of one hand. They shew that Irish historians limited the date of Clanna D. to the centuries before and during the Táin. The name does not occur in the Tuatha De Danann cycle or in the Finn cycle. It did not survive as a tribal name. It was replaced by Síl Conaire, Dal Céte, Eraind, etc. It was only applied to Dedad's sons and grandsons. It was, therefore, a name for one family among the Erna and could not apply to the Erna as a whole. The leading position given to Clanna D. was the result of the personal achievements of a couple of generations who, whatever their actual record may have been, left their memory crystallized in the saga of Curoi and in the traditions preserved above.

The territory of Clanna D. was in west Munster. The heart of their possessions was Temair Luachra, or Temair Erand. The actual site of this place is unknown, but it was near Castle-island where the neck of Dingle promontory begins. Here was the family burial-place :

“ The Clanna D. bury at Temair Erand,” says Senchus na Relec. (See T. Erand in Onom.).

“ The Clanna D. buried at Temair Luachra round Curoi son of

Daire, round Dornmar, round seven fifties of the seed of Daire son of Dedad." (LL. 170, b.).

"Temair Luachra is on the slopes of Ir-Luachair and in it are the residences and structures." (Mesca Ulad, p. 19).

Ir-Luachair was apparently the name for SE. Kerry and parts of Cork and Limerick. Sliabh Luachra, now Slieve Logher, signified the whole mountain system of Ir-Luachair. Luachair Dedad seems to have included only part of Kerry according to the references in Onom. In the passages collected above we have references to members of the Clann at Drum Cháin, Drumkeen in Limerick?, at Drum Assail = Tory Hill in Limerick, at Tráighlí = Tralee, at Sliabh Mis = in Dingle, at Imlech = Emly in Limerick? and other places not yet identified. Those places that are known point to the occupation of part of Limerick by Clanna D. Though Temair Luachra was their burial-place and assembly-place (C.R.R., p. 23) it is not definitely mentioned as the residence of the kings of Clanna D. Curoi's fort was on Sliabh Mis about fifteen miles away. According to Acall. na Sen., here was the marshy 'plain of Ulster' where the Ulstermen camped to besiege Curoi in Claen-rath = the sloping fort. Down by the shore was Lathair Luinge where Clanna D. kept their ships. Westward was Rinn Chana where foreigners paid tribute to Curoi. While this part of Kerry seems to have been the stronghold of their race they are said to have held Clare for a time:

"Cecht, son of Oilill and Medb, was foster-son to Deada mac Sin in the time of Conaire Mór. Medb and Oilill mac Mata gave Deagad with their son from Fid Cetinis southward to Luimneach. Fir Bolg were on that land and Dedad put them out . . ." (Lecan, 370.—cp. H.3. 17, col. 845).

". . . thence was fought the battle of Buirend (Burren in Co. Clare) between Degath and the Fir Bolc and the sons of Mágach from Leinster along the sea northward till they took Mag Glac (in Corcomruad, Co. Clare) from the west. They fought the battle of Glac, whence is Ath Lagen, and beat the Fir Bolc. Aengus mac Umoir, king of the Fir Bolc, fell there and the battle of Cairn Feradaig was fought." (H. 3, 17, cols. 752, 846).

Ath Cliath Medraighe (Maaree, S.E. of Galway) was "the

ford where the Clanna Dedaid waged red strife against the Maine." (Dinds. A.C.M. in T.L., 10., p. 315).

"The country where Dál Cais are to-day, and that was their division where Clanna Deaghaidh were, was changed in defining the boundaries of their territories and lands. They exchanged fosterage between them, Fionnabair, daughter of Oilill and Medb, Ciar and Concradh two sons of Fergus mac Róigh, and these were the fosterlings taken north; Gainne son of Déaghadh, and Corrann, daughter of Comann son of D., and Geiscneisgael, daughter of Conaingoneis son of D. On account of that fosterage they gave the land, on which the old tribes of the Fir Bolg were formerly, to Clanna D. with the fosterage, viz.: from Áthadh na Bóiroimhe (Ford of Killaloe) to Léim Con (Loop Head) and from Fiódhbhaidhe Céadinis (an island in the Shannon) and Eísir Riada (ridge north of Co. Clare) to Luimnech (Shannon estuary). And after that the Clanna D. became exhausted." (23. N. 30, pp. 75, 76; H. 4, 13, 30; Annals, Inisfallen).

These passages show a definite tradition as to the furthest extension of Clanna D. while at the height of their power. As Clare fell subsequently to descendants of Fergus mac Róigh they cannot have held it long, but the name "Sliabh Echtge" being traced to a daughter of D. points to settlements of the Clann in Clare. It is also clear that they were in close alliance with central Connaught. The links between them and Oilill and Medb were many and fast. This comes out in several of the allusions already quoted and in the sagas of MU. and CRR. It is curious, therefore, that in the Táin itself they play so small a part. There are indications that in some versions of the Táin they were ignored and in others included. For instance: in LU. and in Eg. 1782, Fedelm's prophecy to Medb ends with the words, "the warriors of Clanna Dedad will be slain." In other versions Clanna D. is omitted; the prophecy is general. Again, LU. is the only version that mentions the slaying of six princes of Clanna D. by Cuchullain—(see Ériu II. 1, p. 55). According to Gl. M., C.R. III. they had joined Medb's army at Cruachan before the Táin. It is curious, therefore, that none of their well-known names appear in the fighting. Cuioi only makes a brief appearance and goes back immediately. What-

ever the reason it was not lack of quarrels with Ulster that caused their absence. There is a strong tradition of long-standing enmity between S.W. Munster and N.E. Ulster.

As far back as Rudraighe Mór we find in a list of Ulster battles :

“ Battle of Luachair Fellubair, seven battles in Cliu, battle in Glendamaín, battle of Sliabh Mis.” (LL, 23, a). All these places were in Clanna D. territory. In CCC. Dedad is united with Lughaid L. to suppress Ulster, and in Cóir A. we are told that Conghal carried the war into Munster itself. Fachtna Fathach, Conghal’s successor, slays a Munster king. Finally, in Aided Conroi and in Mesca Ulad we have two leading Irish sagas dealing with the final overthrow of Clanna D. Mesca Ulad is based on the destruction of Temair Luachra, and Aided Conroi preserves the memory of some last great fight in which Clanna D. went down before the Clanna Rudraighe. While the name after this disappears from the records the family were not destroyed. They come up again as the Síl Conaire, and their hero is Conaire Mór. His story is too well-known to need mention here, but the fact that he is associated with Temair and East Leinster adds interest to the following points :

The Osraighe claimed descent from a daughter of Dáire mac D. Clettach on the Boyne and Wexford Harbour are associated with sons of D. One of the several pedigrees of Finn mac Cumail traces him to D. (See LL, 379, a). These link the family to Leinster. There was, however, a later family, the hUi Degadh of Osraighe, descendants of a Deghadh Mór, son of Labraid, son of Bresal Beolach, 4th cent. A.D. These may have more to do with the Leinster allusions than the Clanna D. of Kerry.

Taking all the traditions about Clanna D. as a whole they are consistent and rational. There are contradictions in details and uncertainty on some points. The Irish records acknowledge this as we have seen in the quotations from MacFirbis. Where they speak decidedly, therefore, they must have had good ground for believing their statements to be founded on fact. The references to the Clanna D. come from over twenty different MSS. It is impossible they could all be drawn from one source. There must have been several independant historians responsible in the beginning for such information as we have. Moreover, this

information comes from Ulster sources, e.g., the CCC., as well as from Munster. It is found in Connaught MSS. such as LU. and H. 3, 17. That imagination plays a large part in sagas like the Mesca Ulad is of course certain. But such sagas, like Scott's novels, are built on an historical foundation. MacFirbis and the SSE. help to demonstrate what that foundation was. When in CCC. we read that Dedad had thirty to forty sons it seems merely a poetic exaggeration. The statement has no further bearing on the story of CCC. But, as can be seen above, there are twenty-three sons named for certain from independant sources and eight doubtful names. It is hardly possible that the poet quoted in CCC. took his figures from the same sources as I have done. He wrote his poem doubtless to embody a definite tradition which is borne out by the other witnesses. It is not necessary to believe that the sons named were all real characters. The fact remains that the traditions about Dedad's family are consistent. Another argument in favour of their truth is this: that they are mostly preserved in the records of the enemies of Clanna D. The Senchus Síil Ebhir is the history of that race whom Clanna D. are said to have overthrown. The historians of Síil E. would not invent a defeat of their race. They would, following the natural tendency, minimize it or excuse it. They do neither. They simply state it as an acknowledged fact. The Clanna D. beat the Síil E. and the latter admit it. This is a strong argument for the truth of a record. The occupation of Clare by Clanna D. is referred to in connection with the later occupation by Dál Cais. Here again we have a fact asserted by historians of a section of Síil Ebhir who could have had no interest in the statement save that of historical truth. Two or three centuries must have elapsed between the decline of Clanna D. and the rise of Dál Cais. Oral records have been handed down for longer periods than this.

The history of the descendants of Clanna D. would provide a great deal of local history. I have limited myself to those generations officially styled Clanna D. In the next paper I shall follow out the history of one member of the Clann in particular—Coemgen Conganchnes.

COEMGEN CONGANCHNES.

IN SSE. the names of seven sons of Dedad are given as specially prominent in the overthrow of Síl Ebhir. The last name is usually "Conganchnes." This, however, was only an epithet. The full name is given variously as follows:

Coemgin Congachnis in Rawl. 130b, 9.

Conget " " " 157. 22.

Caegmen Conganchnes ,, LL. 138 a. 46.

The right form for the name in the nominative seems to be Coemgen Conganchness (see Contrib. Irish Lex.). This epithet signifies "horny-skinned" and was not peculiar to Coemgen. It occurs with other names at LL. 166 a, 17 a; CCC., p. 63; TBC. in Ériu III, p. 79 suppl. It was very probably derived from some kind of leather armour.

According to SSE. Coemgen belonged to the generation of Clanna Dedad before the Táin and would have been uncle of Curoi. According to Aided Celtchair (TL. XIV, p. 27) he was brother of Curoi and survived him. His name does not occur in the Táin or in the Curoi sagas or in MU. Outside SSE. the allusions to him occur in Ulster documents and gencalogies. His story is bound up with that of Celtchair mac Cuthechair of Downpatrick, and certain Ulster tribes claimed him as ancestor. This association of a Kerryman with N.E. Ulster is curious. It is worth examining as illustrating the population-movements as early as the period of the Táin. Coemgen married:

a. Meas, or Miss, sister of Eochu mac Maireda of Fermoy in Munster.

b. Ném, daughter of Celtchair of Co. Down.

c. Anga, or Angain, ,, " " " "

d. Bìl, or Ibell, ,, " " " "

According to the Dindsenchus Miss gave her name to Sliab Mis in Clanna Dedad territory.

"Miss, sister of Eochaid, stayed behind when he emigrated, and went with Conganchnes Mac Dedad and that mountain was the territory . . . of her race . . ."—(LL. 168 b; cp. LL. 198 a, Lecan 387; D. 2, 1, 95 rev.).

She was evidently a Munsterwoman from territory adjacent to that of Clanna Dedad, but I can find no mention of any tribe claiming descent from her and Conganchnes. The above passage speaks as if there had been descendants of hers in Dingle, but I have not come across their pedigree.

The following Ulster tribes claimed descent from him and Ném and her sisters :

"Ném wife of Conanchnes mac Dedaíd : of his children are Corcraige, Bentraige, Gabraige, Cuachraige, viz. ; Conall Glas, Buachail, Corc, three *sons* of Coemgen Conganchnes mac Dedaíd. Three daughters of Celtchair were their three mothers, viz., Bîl, Ném, Daill, Scathdercc, Anga daughter of Celtchair and Daroma . . ."—(Rawl., p. 130 b).

The official Ulster history, the *Senchus Sil hÍr*, (SSI.) says :
 "Gabraige of the race of Eogan Garb . . . Buachail, Conall Cass, Corc. Others say they were three *brothers* of Conget Conganchnes mac Dedad and three daughters of Celtchair, viz., their three mothers : Ibell, Ném, Dalle. Scadarc Angain also was wife to Conget and daughter of Celtchair. Ab his predictis tribus fratribus Conget nati sunt Dál mBuachalla ⁊ Casraige." (Laud, in ZCP. VIII, p. 331).

The copy of SSI. in LL., 331 has :

"Ab his tribus predictis filiis Conget nati sunt Dál mBuachalla ⁊ Casraige."

The copy in Lecan 284 has :

"A bes Dál mBuachalla, Casraige ⁊ Corcraidi."

Other copies of SSI. are found in Rawl. 157, D. 2, 1, p. 66 rev. and H. 1. 15, p. 347. The majority of the references call the three, "Brothers," of Conget. The exact relationship would be doubtful but for the evidence of the *Bansenchus* in Lecan, LL., etc. This document states that Ném was wife to Conget C. Her son therefore could not be his brother and the word "brothers" is either a mistake or a loose expression

for relationship in general. There was evidently some doubt as to the descent of these tribes from Conget. This was probably due to the fact that they represent a very early layer of population and also to their insignificance. No royal line claimed descent from them. They achieved no conquest in later times. Consequently their history was neglected or eclipsed by the fame of more distinguished families. Before going further the names of Celtchair's daughters need examination :

The names of the women are obviously corrupt as, instead of three, four seem to be given. I venture to suggest that the original passage was poetry and that "Scathdercc" is not a proper name at all. My reason is, that copies of SSI. in Lecan 279 a, and H. 1. 15, p. 347, have the passage thus :

"Ebel Nem Daille Scadharc nona mulierum Angain."

" " " " " naoi mnaib " "

I suggest that the original ran :

"Ebel, Nem—dail le scadharc naoi mna—Angain . . ." which might be translated as a compliment to Nem "in whose mirror met nine women's beauty."

This would reduce the names to the right number—three : Ebel, Nem, Angain.

It would be a parallel compliment to the name, Fedelm Noicrothach, i.e., "nine shapes or appearances on her, each more beautiful than the other" (see IT. 1, p. 266).

Whether this is the right explanation or not the passage as it stands is at least clear on a connection of Coemgen C. with Celtchar of Ulster. What the exact marriage connection might have been was evidently uncertain when SSI. was composed.

From these sons of Coemgen sprang the following tribes :

Corcraige, Casraige, Bentraige, Gabraige (or Garbraige), Cuachraige (or Grugraige), Beathraige, Dál mBuachalla.

(See Rawl. 130 b ; LL. 331 ; BB. 169 a ; Lecan 284, 285 ; D. 2, 1, 67 rev. ; FG. 381).

All these are included in SSI. under the heading "Forslonti Ulad = races of the Ulaidh." According to the same authority the Corcraige were a vassal-tribe in Iveagh before the coming of the hUa nEchach. There were Bentraige in the same district

(see Onom.). The name occurs also in Cork and Wexford. Bantry Bay in Kerry takes it's name from them. It must have been originally a Munster name and have been brought northward by some comrade or adherent of Coemgen. The Casraige, Gabraige, Cuachraige, Beathraige I am unable to locate. The Dál mBuachalla were settled in the Lagan valley in North Down. This seems certain from the following :

"The five chief tribes of Dál mBindi were ; Dál Corb, Dál mBuain, Cenel Maelain, Ui Dasluaga, Cenel nErnain, Gailine and the sixth is Dál mBuachalla and they are of the seed of Coemgin C. mac Dedad of Munster."—(Lecan, 286 ; D. 2. 1, 67 rev.).

The Dál mBindi were settled in Moylinny between Loch Neagh and Belfast and along the Lagan (see Onom.).

The genealogy of these tribes is preserved as we have said in the *Ulster* history, not in that of Munster, though Coemgen C. was a Munsterman. They were settled in the maternal country. Other traditions about Coemgen profess to explain how this came about :

"Conganchnes mac Dedad went to avenge his brother, Curoi mac Dáire, upon the men of Ulster. He devastated Ulster greatly. Spears or swords hurt him not, but sprang from him as from horn . . . Celtchar . . . went to converse with Conganchnis and beguiled him promising him his daughter Níab . . . Then the woman beguiled him ; "Tell me how you may be killed." "Red hot iron spits have to be thrust into my soles and shins." Then she told her father . . . and so it was done. Celtchair cut off his head over which a cairn was raised.

That day at the end of a year cowherds (buachailli) were by the side of the cairn and heard the squealing of whelps in the cairn. They dug it up and found three whelps . . ."—(Aided C. ; LU. 6r ; RC. XVI, p. 53 ; D. 2. 2, 66 rev.).

The slaying of Conganchnes was considered the most notable achievement of Celtchair. This is evident from Celtchair's boast of it in *Sgél M.*, and also from the fact that Conganchnes was called one of "the three worst pests of Ulster." He must have avenged Curoi well.

The passage just quoted makes no allusion to any descendants

of Coemgen, but may have done so originally. The Dál Buachalla claimed descent from him, and the word translated "cowherds" may really refer to members of this tribe. If so they were probably the preservers of the tradition of Conganchnes.

The Cairn of Conganchnis was in Farney. "The army marched past Carn Caoimghin Conganchnisi which is now called Carn Eachach Leathderg."—(Cog. Ferg. in 23. K. 37).

This carn was well known as the site of the battle between the Collas and Ulster in 332 A.D. The exact spot is unidentified, but it was certainly in Farney, and therefore on the southern border of Ulster. Coemgin C. was evidently believed to have fallen here and not in Co. Down as might have been expected. This is a bit of independant tradition quite apart from the Aided C. and the SSI.

Again, the information about Coemgen comes from an Ulster document—Cog. Fergusa. The reason lies in his descendants being settled in Ulster. The only allusion I have found to a descendant in Munster is in a late copy of SSE., which mentions "Geiscneisgeal daughter of Conangoneis mac Dedad" as fostered in Connaught in exchange for children of Medb's."—(23. N. 30., p. 76). We have seen that he had a Munster wife, Mis. Her name furnishes a connecting link between the story of Conganchnes and the well-known story of her brother Eochaid, the "Tomaidm Locha nEchach." According to the summarized account of this story in the Dindsenchus, "Eochaid son of Maired and Rib his brother flitted from Irluachair to Brug meic ind Óc. Oengus mac in Óc sends them away. Rib and his folk went west . . . to Mag Airbthen. Eochaid and his folk go to Liathmuine (Loch Neagh). Eochaid fought Fiacha Findamnas king of Ulster, took the lordship of Ulster for nineteen years. Then went Lindmúne over Liathmuine and Eochaid was drowned with all his children save only Dairiu and Conaing. From Conaing Dál Selle and Dál mBuain descend. 'Twas then a hundred years after the birth of Christ."—(See RC. XV, p. 482; XVI, p. 152, and LU.).

Now Conganchnes and Eochaid are never mentioned together. The one is not brought into the other's story. This is remarkable, as both came from the same part of Kerry, were brothers-

in-law, both went to N.E. Ulster (though for different reasons) and their descendants inhabited the same district, for the Dál Buain (from Eochaid) and the Dál Buachalla (from Conget) were both included in the Dál mBindi of the Lagan valley. It is remarkable that these two tribes evidently kept their family traditions distinct, and each preserved a different version of how their ancestors came to Ulster. Both agree that their origin was from Irluachair in Kerry, but, in the case of Congachnes, he is a solitary marauder who intermarries with Ulster-women and so leaves descendants in Ulster. Eochaid's story is that of deliberate migration with his family and his stock and deliberate attempts to settle, first on the Boyne, and then on Lough Neagh. I think there can be no doubt that the two traditions are based on a real migration from Munster to the Lagan valley. It may have been spread over a number of years. Congachnes is made cotemporary with Conall Cernach ; Eochaid with Conall's grandson, Fiacha Findamnas. A definite date is assigned to Eochaid, 100 A.D. Most authorities date the Táin about the first century A.D., so that the two brothers-in-law are not really far apart. This Munster colony in the heart of the Táin country, arriving not long after that great contest, is a curious and interesting little fact in early Irish history. It is possible that through Dál Buain and Dál Buachalla the tradition of Curoi became part of the Táin cycle.

The stories of Eochaid and Congachnes are quite independant of each other. They belong to the literature of Ulster ; but they are linked together by a little bit of Munster tradition which can have no meaning unless based on genuine tribal history. The movements of obscure tribes in the first century of our era are not important in themselves. What is important is, that from Munster history, from Ulster genealogies and from romance come statements and clues independant of, yet corroborating one another, and therefore testifying to the truth of the facts they profess to relate.

CELTCHAIR MAC CUTHECHAIR.

IN the two preceding studies I dealt with a Munster race and their offshoots some of whom went North. The subject of this study is an Ulsterman some of whose descendants went South. We have seen that Coemgen C. was connected with Celtchair of Co. Down. This study deals with Celtchair himself. As the spelling of his name varies, I give the following examples of the nominative form :

Celtchair	mac	Cuthechair	in	Laud, ZCP VIII, p. 325.
„	„	Uitheochair	„	LL 329 e.
Cealtchair	„	„	„	Lecan, 249.
Celtair	„	Cuithechair	„	BB, 151.
Cealtair	„	Uichir	„	D. 2. 1, 66 b.
Celtchar	„	Uthechair	„	Aid. C.
Celtchair	„	„	„	MU in LL 262.

Where the MSS. vary so much it is difficult to know which spelling to adopt. I have followed the first given. Gramatically the form in Aid. C. seems the most correct.

Celtchair is one of the three heroes of the Craobh Ruadh who left descendants. "From Ir sprang the races of Fergus, Conall and Celtchair."—(LL., 318b).

Of these races that of Conall developed into the royal race of Dalaradia with offshoots in Meath and Ossory. Fergus' descendants settled in Connaught and Munster. Celtchair's family were scattered in many directions, as will be shown later.

Celtchair himself was of the pure Rudrician stock of Down and Armagh. His pedigree is found in many MSS. with hardly any variations. Here is the copy in BB. 151 :

Celtair mac Cuithechair mic Fothaid mic Fir Iledh
Mic Glais mic Rosa mic Rudraigi.

Other copies occur in Lecan, 249 ; Laud in ZCP. VIII, p. 325 ; Rawl., 156 b ; LL., 329 e.

Fer Iledh, or Fir Filed, was common ancestor to Celtchair,

Ferchertne, Athirne, Errge Echbel, Sencha. The relationship to Conchobar and Conall was more distant.

His father, Cuthechar, (Uitheachair) is mentioned in CCC. as one of the conspirators against the kings of Ulster along with Fachtna Fathach, Amhergin, Cairbre, etc., all like Cuthechar himself belonging to the generation before the Táin.—(CCC., p. 5).

He had two brothers :

“The household of Conchobar and his vassals with their two leaders, Glasne and Menn, two sons of Uthechar ; two youths swarthy and huge, soft playful eyes, dark-grey tunics with silver pins, horn-topped swords . . .” (See TBC., transl. by Dunn, p. 335).

His own description in the Táin is somewhat similar :

“A rough-visaged wrathful terrible ill-favoured one, big-nosed, large-eared, apple-eyed, red-limbed, great-bellied, thick-lipped, coarse grizzly hair—a striped grey cloak about him, an iron skewer in the cloak from one shoulder to the other, a rough three-striped tunic, a sword of iron, a brown shield, a great grey spear in his hand . . .” (Ibid, p. 328).

Mesca Ulad agrees with this :

“A hideous trio with linen shirts, hairy dark-grey garments, iron spikes in their bosoms, coarse dark-brown hair, grey shields . . . three leaders . . . Uma, Errge, Celtchar the great . . .” (MU., p. 31).

“A tall grey terrible warrior.” (Sc. M., p. 61).

He is generally closely associated with Conchobar. The earliest allusion to him known to me is in Cogad Fergusa. He is named as leading the Ulstermen with Conchobhar against Eochaidh Feidlech whose brother he slew. (See Cog. F. in 23 K 37).

In the Táin, when the Ulstermen recover from their sickness, “Conchobar and Celtchair proceeded with 3,000 chariot-soldiers to Ath Imidi . . . met plunderers, killed them . . . Celtchair aroused the Ulstermen . . .”

“Celtchair in his sleep prophesied to Conchobar . . .”

"Conchobar and Celtchair with 3,000 . . . set forth to Slemain Midi . . ."

These references give the impression of an elderly man, one of the reverend seniors of the Craobh Ruadh. He nowhere appears as a youthful hero. There was a story in the list of primh-sgeala called "Coimpert Cheltchair maic U.," i.e., the birth of Celtchair son of U. (See Anecd. II, p. 44). This seems to be lost. It may have contained details as to his youthful deeds. He appears in the following tales of the Táin cycle:

Fled Bricrend: He, his wife, and his daughter attend Bricriu's feast at Dún Rudraighe.

Tocmarc Luaine: he is one of those to accompany Conchobar to woo Luaine.

Sgél M.: he is one of the Ulster warriors who challenge the Connaughtmen in the Bruden for the champion's portion.

Mesca Ulad: he takes part in the Ulster raid on Temair Luachra in Kerry.

Cath Ruis-na-ríogh: he aids in the preparations for the battle, but does not take part in it.

Though senior to many of the members of the Craobh Ruadh he was not included in the leading trio. He was, however, reckoned among the first half-dozen in longer lists:

"Conchobar, Cuscraid, Eogan, Celtchar . . ."—(TBC. in LU., 50).

"Conall, Cuchullain, Celtchair, Blai Brugaid . . ."—(Tocm. Luaine, RC., 24, p. 280).

"Conall, Fergus, Loegaire, Celtchair . . ."—(Tocm. Emire).

"Fergus, Conall, Loegaire, Cuchullain, Eogan, Cealtchair . . ." (Fled Bricrend, YBL version).

His home was undoubtedly at Downpatrick.

The oldest name seems to have been:

"Cathair na Cruadh, which is now called Dún da Lethglas. There was Celtchair . . ."—(Cath Aonaigh Macha in C.I. 2,—R.I.A.).

In the Ulster Roll-call we have:

"Celtchair mac Cuthechair in Lethglas . . ."

Medb speaks of him as:

"Celtchar in Lethglas and a third of the Ulstermen with him." (T.B.C. in L.U.).

In Mesca Ulad we have :

"Celtchair the great . . . from Rath Celtchair from Dún da Lethglas."

Cinaed O Harticain's poem on the deaths of heroes says :

"Celtchair died eastward from Dún Lethglasse . . ."—(LL. 31, b).

"Dún da Lethglas, the peaceful dún of Celtchair."—(LL. 138a).

Celtchair had three wives :

Findabair, see BS in LL, Lecan, BB, D. 2, 1.

Bríg Brethach, " " " " " "

Doruama, " " " " " "

Findabair is connected with the storming of Dún Sobairche by Medb ; "the place where was the mighty queen of Celtchair. . . . fair Findabair . . ."—(LL. 17a).

"Medb gave battle to Findmór wife of Celtchair in the gate of Dún Sobairche and Findmór was slain and the Dún ravaged." (LL. 73 b).

Bríg Brethach was mother of four of Celtchair's sons.—(Lecan 387). She is named as C's. wife among the great ladies of Ulster at Bricriu's feast.—(IT., vol. 1, p. 266). She is said to have been the cause of the murder of Blái Briuga by Celtchair and his subsequent exile.—(Aid. C.).

Doruama was a daughter of Conchobar mac Nessa. She is only mentioned as mother of daughters of Celtchair, viz., Nem, (Lecan 387) and Angain (LL. 331a). Her name is frequently corrupted, i.e., Dronae (LL. 331a), Dorona (Lecan 284), Ronaide (D. 2, 1, p. 66 rev.), Daranae (H. 1, 15, p. 347), Daromae (Rawl. 157, 24).

His sons are generally given as seven in number but others appear in various MSS. According to SSI. the seven were :

Eogan, Ailill, Sem, Fer Tlachtga, Cathnia, Uathnia, Druthnia. (Laud in ZCP., VIII, p. 332).

Other sons named elsewhere are :

Fer nUidead in Lecan 387.

Maine " " "

Eochu Cendgarb in LL 262 a.

Cendglas „ „ 349 e.

Sganaine „ C. VI, 2., p. 340. R.I.A.

Dual „ C. VI, 2. p. 340. „

The first four were the sons of Bríg Brethach.—(BS. in Lecan 387).

Fer nUidead was son of Daruama.—(ibid).

From Eogan sprang the Corcu Saillgend (or Olchind, Solchind, Soilchind ; or Toilgenn ; see Laud in ZCP. VIII ; Onom. ; Rawl. 157, 52 ; D. 2. 1, 66). Another ancestor, Cethern son of Fintan, is assigned to them in B.B. 154a, Lecan 284, D. 2. 1, 66. Their habitat is extremely uncertain. Some were in Tethba in West Meath.

From Ailill sprang the

“Cennae of the Connaught Laigne and the Ui ind-Fochlae . . .”—(Laud in ZCP. VIII, p. 332 ; LL. 331 c).

A more correct reading seems to be :

“Sil Ceandlain (or Ceanda D. 2. 1, 66) of the Laigne of Desgabair and the Ui Foircellain in Fochla . . .”—(Lecan 284).

“Cenna of the Connaught Luigne and hUi Forcellain in Fochlae”—(Rawl. 157, 51).

These latter were a Leinster tribe in Ossory.—(Onom.).

The celebrated St. Finnian or Finden of Cluan Eraird was descended from Ailill.—(LL., 348 h).

From Sem sprang the Semni (Semoine or Semuine) in the Déisi.—(Laud, ZCP. VIII, p. 332 ; Lecan 284, 460 ; Aid. C. ; Rawl. 157, 50). He is the only one of Celtchair's sons who appears in his father's story. The “Aided” accounts for the Semni in Waterford by saying that Sem took Celtchair's place with the Déisi as hostage when Celtchair was recalled to Ulster. Sem was ancestor of St. Mochuaroc “int-egnaig = the wise.”—(Lecan 284 ; Rawl. 157, 51 ; Laud, ZCP., VIII, p. 332). For another derivation of the name “Semni,” see McNeill, “Early Irish Population Groups,” par. 51.

Fer Tlachtga is frequently omitted from the list. For instance Lecan 284 says, “seven sons,” but omits F.T's. name and all mention of descendants. In Rawl. 157, 49 his descendants are

given as "Dal nUmain and the two Fortuath Arad." Their habitat is unknown to me. He was ancestor of St. Ailbe of Imlech Ibair.

From Cathnia sprang the Coenraige of Murbolg, Druim Asain, Aidne and Aene.—(Laud, *ibid* ; Lecan, 284 ; D. 2. 1, p. 66). According to Onom. Gad. there were Caenraighe in Ulster, in Cork, Limerick, Galway.

From Uathnia sprang the Uathne Thire and the Uathne Cliach. These were peoples of North Munster, but their true origin is very doubtful, being attributed also to "the Luigne or to the race of Conall Cernach."—(Lecan, 284 ; cp. LL. 190 b, Rawl. 155 b, BB, 164 b). For an ancestress Uaithne, see paper on Eochu mac Luchta.

For other references to these descendants see Lecan 459, and Rawl. 140 b.

From Druthnia sprang the Dál mBuindruine in Connacht.—(Laud *ibid*). Lecan, 284, and D. 2. 1, p. 66 speak of the "Dál nDruthnia of Connaught."

Fer nUidead is only mentioned once as son of C. and Daruama. I have found no other reference to him.—(Lecan, 387).

Maine was husband of Cuchullain's daughter, Finnscoth.—(Lecan, 387).

Eochu Cendgarb is bracketed with Cormac Connlongas and Mesdead son of Amargin as three guarantors for Sencha.—(MU.).

Cendglas is called a son of C. in the pedigree of St. Colman.—(LL., 349 e).

Uanchind Arritach, a boy champion of mythical powers, is called a son of three heroes : Uma, Errge, Celtchair.—(MU., p. 35). He is a character of pure imagination.

In C. VI. 2, p. 340, a passage is quoted from an old book : "Two sons of Celtchair : Sganaine and Dual and Dubh, etc." This has no connection with any other tradition about Celtchair's sons known to me.

Nearly all these descendants, as far as can be gathered from the above references, were scattered in Connaught, Munster, Leinster. The only family who seem to have been in Ulster were the Caenraighe of Murbolg. Yet there is no doubt that

Celtchair himself was a Co. Down man. His descendants in the female line seem to have kept nearer home. However, some were far afield.

His daughters include the following :

Brigit was ancestress of the Ui Brigten (or Ui Brigdi) in the Dési, the same district as the Semni.—(Rawl. 130, b 7 ; D. 2. 1, p. 66 ; FG., 501 ; Lecan 284).

Ném, Niab or Niam, may be three forms of one name, but the three forms are given as three different daughters as follows :

Niam is called wife of Conall Cernach and mother of his son, Eogan Fuilech.—(Lecan, 387 ; H. 3. 17, col. 734 ; TBC. in H. 2. 17).

In LL. 119a Conall's wife is Niab, but in other places we find :

Niab, wife of Cormac Connloinges, present at Bricriu's feast and sharing her husband's exile in Connaught.—(Lecan, 387 ; Fled Bricr. in IT. 1., p. 266 ; D. 2. 1, p. 95 rev. ; Bruden da Choca in RC. 21).

As for Ném : she is called " wife of Ailind son of Conall Cernach . . . and wife to Caemgen Conganchnes after the drowning of Ailind, and Fearta Nemi in East Meath is named from her."—(Lecan, 387 ; D. 2. 1, p. 95 rev. ; BB., 284).

She is always included in the list of Coemgen's three wives as given in the various copies of the SSI. In the previous paper (p. 26) I have offered an explanation of the obvious corruption of the names of Celtchair's daughters who married Coemgen. If this explanation be correct Celtchair had two other daughters : Ebel, or Bil, and Angain. The latter is expressly mentioned as daughter of Daruama. From these three last-named daughters sprang various tribes some of whom, as already pointed out, were certainly located, if not at Downpatrick, at least in Co. Down. In addition to these tribes one other is mentioned as descended from Celtchair, viz., The Rosraighe.

According to the SSI. :

" Seven vassal-tribes were in the land before the coming of the Uib Echdach, viz., Gallraighe . . . Conaille de genelogia Fachtna maic Senchada . . . Rosraighe de genelogia Celtchair maic Cuithechair. Corcraigi . . . Lusraighe, Dubraighe, Lug-

raige."—(Laud in ZCP. VIII, p. 331. ; cp. Rawl. 157 and H. 1. 15, p. 347 ; LL. 331a, 23).

This passage implies that Celtchair's descendants had sunk to an inferior and enslaved position. They and their kinsmen descended from Sencha were superseded in Iveagh by the Ua nEchach, the descendants of Conall Cernach. Whether they remained on as vassals or were expelled is not clear. Certainly other descendants of Celtchair were scattered throughout Ireland as already stated. This was probably due to expulsion by stronger tribes. None of them held any ruling position. No king traced descent to them. This condition of things may account for the character of the references to Celtchair. In the descriptions of him, his brothers and his comrades already quoted the dress is rough, grey, coarse, and the brooches of iron or silver at the most. There is no gold embroidery, or crimson or fine linen, no gold-hilted swords as in the descriptions of other heroes in the Táin. No chariot elaborately fitted, no horses, are mentioned in Celtchair's story. The Táin certainly implies that he was a great chief who led a third of the men of Ulster. The Aided C. presents him from quite another point of view. This tale has been edited and translated in the Todd Lectures, vol. XIV. I venture to suggest that it embodies two family traditions of different sections of Celtchair's descendants. The first six paragraphs narrate his vengeance on Blai Briuga, his exile to Waterford, the reason of his recall and the mission of his son Sem to act apparently as hostage for his father with the Déisi. "Hence," we are told, "is Semuine in the land of the Déisi." Here we have very probably the story of their origin preserved, not only by the Semuine, but by the Ui Brigten. Both claimed to be of Co. Down origin, which was perfectly possible. That their common ancestor was a fugitive from justice is a very probable explanation of their presence in Waterford.

With paragraph 7 begins the "Aided" proper. Conganchnes mac Dedad appears. We have the story of his raids on Ulster, his marriage with Celtchair's daughter, his death by strategem, his cairn and the finding of the whelps therein by "buachailli." As already pointed out (p. 27) we have here a clue to the origin of this part of the story, viz., a tradition of the Dál Buachalla,

the descendants of Celtchair and Congachnes. If so it was a tradition from the Lagan valley. The character of the story bears this out. The name "Dál Buachalla" indicates a tribe of herdsmen, a pastoral people. In the "Aided" Celtchair is not an aristocrat and king as in the Táin. He is a wily old countryman, fighting robbers and marauding beasts. The stories of the Luch Donn and Doelchu embody memories of the times when wolves abounded and the herd-dogs were as large and nearly as ferocious as the wolves they had to fight. Such dogs must have frequently "run amok." If the conclusions drawn are correct we have traditions from Waterford and Down combined into one narrative in the Aided. Perhaps this was done for one of Celtchair's saintly descendants, for according to the FM., "Colm Cille, Finnen of Cluan Eraird and other saints induced the authors of their time to perpetuate and amplify the history existing in their day. It was done at their request."

From Celtchair descended :

Finnen of Cluan Eraird in Meath (see Rawl. 130 b. ; LL., 348 h. ; Bk. Lismore).

Ailbe of Imlech Ibair in Limerick.—(LL., 349 c).

Colman of Glen-da-loch in Wicklow.—(LL., 349 e, Martyr. Don., p. 659).

Cainnech of Druim Fota in Co. Down.—(Laud in ZCP. VIII, p. 331).

Mochuaroc sapiens (from Séam) in Waterford.—(Lecan, 459 ; Rawl., 140 b ; Laud in ZCP. VIII).

It is perhaps to one of these the composition of Aided C. is due.

There is one point in connection with Celtchair I have not yet alluded to, viz., his famous spear, the Luin Celtchair, "the most celebrated weapon of war in Irish story." It is curious that his name was attached to a weapon which dated from the battle of Moytura down to the time of Cormac Mac Airt. Moreover, in two tales of the Táin cycle it appears, but *not* in Celtchair's own hand. In Mesca Ulad he is actually present, but Dubthach Doel Ulad has the Luin. In Bruden da Derga the spear is there, but Celtchair is not present at all. In the description of him in the Táin we find :

"A sword of . . . iron, a brown . . . shield ; a great grey spear with thirty nails in the socket . . ." That is all ; not a word of magic or venom or a single allusion to the title, "Luin Celtchair." As the spear dated from Moytura long before his time, why should it specially bear his name ? I would suggest that the original title of the spear was taken from the word "celtair" = "spear-head," and had nothing to do with Celtchair and that similarity of sound suggested linking it with him rather than Dubthach or any of the other heroes. This is merely a suggestion to try and explain why Celtchair does not use the weapon himself. In *Aided C.* he slays Blai with a spear, but it is not called the Luin. His greatest achievement, the slaying of Conganchnes, is accomplished without a spear at all. Only at the last does it appear in the slaying of the hound and as the means whereby he himself incurs blood-poisoning and dies. It might have equally well been called "Luin Dubthach, Luin mac Cecht, etc.," after men who did use it in battle.

As to his other weapons ; his shield, the "Comla Catha" = "door of battle," hung in the house, Téite Brecc, at Emain with those of the other heroes.—(see *Ériu* IV, pt. 1. *Sgéal Conch.*).

His servant's name "Calbmether" occurs in a list of gillies in *LL.*, 190 c.

As already mentioned we hear nothing of his horses or chariot.

His hound, Doelchu, is classed with two famous dogs, viz., the hound of Culand and the hound of Mac Da Thó.—(See *Sc. M.* ; *RC.*, 16, p. 53 ; *LU.*, p. 61 ; *Aided C.*).

He was "the half of the battle, the head of strife of Ulster, the head of combat in valour, the storm-wave that drowneth, the sea over bounds, the mighty Celtchair mac Uthechair from Lethglass in the North."—*TBC.*, Dunn's trans., p. 328.

EOCHU MAC LUCHTA.

THE period of the Táin is frequently spoken of as the age of the Cóicedaigh, = the pentarchs, in contradistinction to the period of extreme sub-division said to have prevailed for three centuries previously. These Coicedaigh included such famous names as Conchobhar, Medb and Curoi. Along with them are classed Cairbre Nia Fer and Eochu mac Luchta. These five rulers had the honour of having their respective provinces called after them, as follows :

Cóiced Cairpri = Leinster, including Tara. See Onom.

„ Conchobair = Ulster to the Boyne. „ „

„ Conrói mic Dairi = West Munster. „ „

„ Echach mic Luchtai = North Munster. „ „

„ Medba } = Connaught. „ „

„ nAilello }

There was some confusion as to whether Eochu ruled North or South Munster. In Onom. various authorities are quoted for both statements. Other references to him make it certain that he was king of North Munster, and lived at Lough Derg on the Shannon. The choice of his name to indicate the province is remarkable, as he is not always included in the lists of the Cóicedaigh. The following instances show this :

Cóicedaigh as instituted by Eochaid Feidlech before Táin :

<i>Connaught</i>	<i>Ulster</i>	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Two Munsters</i>
{ Fideach, Eochaid, Tinne.	Fergus mac Ledé. Ros mac Fergusa		{ Deadaid, Tigearnach Tetbannach.

(See K. II, p. 185).

Cóicedaigh in time of Eochaid Feidlech :

<i>Connaught</i>	<i>Ulster</i>	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Two Munsters</i>
{ Medb, { Oilill.	Conchobar	Cairbre Nia Fer (mac Rosa)	{ Cúroí, { Eochu mac { Luchta

(See LG. in 23. K. 32, p. 125, R.I.A. See 23. K. 45, p. 247.

Cóicedaigh after Eochaid Feidlech acc. to LG. in LL., 22 a :

<i>Connaught</i>	<i>Ulster</i>	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Two Munsters.</i>
Ailill	Conchobar		{ Cúruí, { Eochu mac { Luchta

but in LL. 23 a and Bk. Fenagh, p. 32 :

Ailill	Conchobar	Corpre Nia Fer (mac Rosa)	{ Cúruí, { Tigernach { Tetbannach
--------	-----------	------------------------------	---

Cóicedaigh as in Lecan, 556, H. 1. 15, p. 67 and BB, 31, b :

<i>Connaught</i>	<i>Ulster</i>	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Two Munsters.</i>
{ Medb, { Ailill	Conchobar	Cairpre Nia Fer (mac Rosa)	{ Eochu mac { Luchta, { Deadad

Cóicedaigh in time of Conaire Mór :

<i>Connaught</i>	<i>Ulster</i>	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Two Munsters</i>
Ailill	Conchobar	Cairpre Nia Fer	Tigernach
Medb		(mac Rosa)	Tetbannach, Deadad (Lecan, 588).

Cóicedaigh seven years after Conaire Mór :

<i>Connaught</i>	<i>Ulster</i>	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Two Munsters.</i>
Medb	Conchobar	Find mac Rosa	{ Cúroí, { Tigernach Tétbannach
Ailill			(Sergh. Con. in IR. 1, p. 212).

Cóicedaigh after Táin :

<i>Connaught</i>	<i>Ulster</i>	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Two Munsters</i>
{ Medb { Ailill	{ Conchobar	Find mac Rosa, Cairpre „ „	{ Eochaid mac Luchta, Lughaid mac Conraoi (CRR., pp. 23, 65).

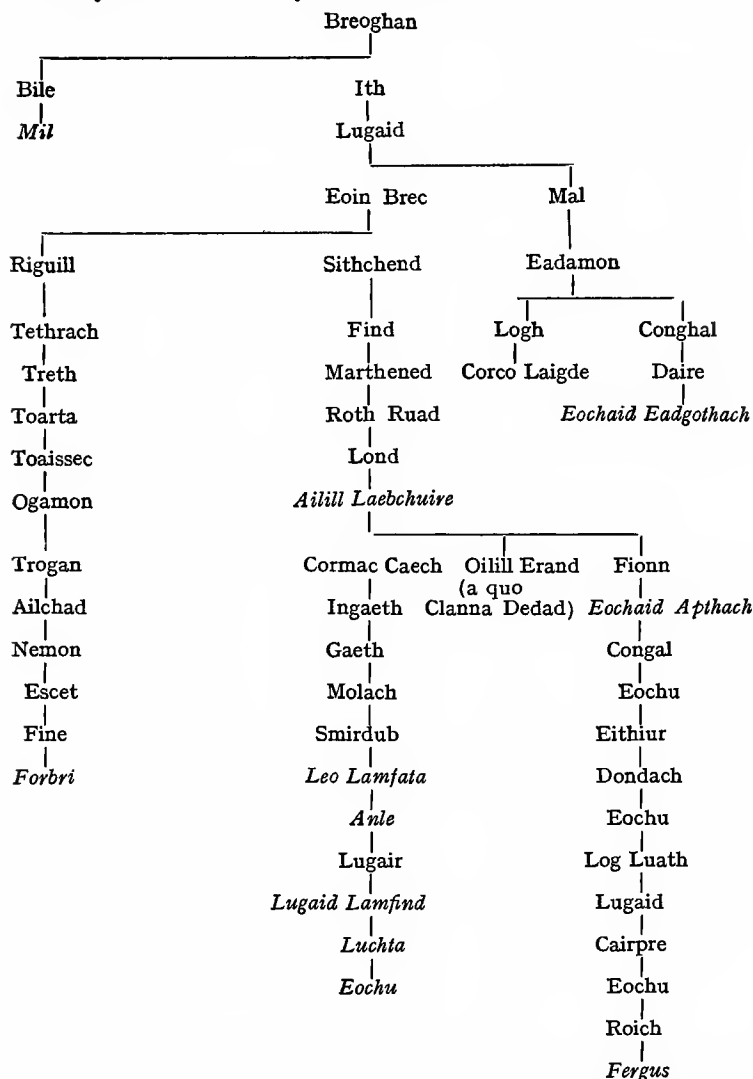
Cóicedaigh as in SSE., 23. N. 30 :

<i>Connaught</i>	<i>Ulster</i>	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Two Munsters</i>
Ailill	Conchobar	{ Mesgeara, { Eidirsgeoil	{ Deaghadh, { Tiagharnach Teadbhend

I have given all these instances to show, that while Connaught and Ulster are always the same, that opinions varied considerably as to the leaders in Leinster and Munster. Tigernach T. appears quite as often as Eochu mac Luchta. None of the above lists quoted specify which Munster these two were supposed to rule. They were at all events rulers of that portion of Munster outside the influence of Clanna Dedad. The fact, however, that historians called Leinster after Cairpre and North Munster after Eochu indicates the territory they ruled and also that they were more famous than Find or Tigernach. They were the leading men in their respective provinces during the Táin period.

Eochu traced his descent to the same ancestor as the Corco Laigde. "These are the tribe of the Gaedhil that are not of the race of Milidh nor of the Tuatha De Danann nor of the Fir Bolg nor Clanna Nemidh. Their invasion is not of the seven invasions." (BB., 198 b, Misc. Celtic Society, vol. 5). The territory of the Corco Laigde proper was extreme south-west Kerry. They doubtless represent a very old aboriginal stock indeed. Their main branch seems to have been that which as one of the two Dáirine "possessed Munster alternately with the Dergthene, = Síl Ebhir, to the time of Ailill Olum and Mac Niadh"—(ibid). Eochu was far removed from these as his pedigree shows. His ancestors were connected by tradition with places and people as

far North as Sligo. The following table shows his relationship to sundry names in history and tradition :



See Rawl. 162 g ; Lecan, 349, 455 ; LG., p. 243 ; TL., 10, p. 338 ; K. II., pp. 125, 141, 283 ; FG, p. 368.

The line given from Eochu back to Ith is taken from Rawl. The Dindsenchus in TL. and pedigrees in K. show some variations. Taking the names in the table as a whole they are unusual and archaic. They suggest a difference in race and possibly in language from other tribes of this period.

As to the names italicized :

Mil : it is remarkable that the Corco Laigde and Eochu made no attempt to trace themselves to the ancestor of all Irish aristocrats. Their linking themselves to an earlier name points to a strong belief in their aboriginal descent.

Eochaid Eadgothach { are two out of the only five names claimed
 „ Aphthach { as having been High-kings out of all Corco Laigde. The other three names are very doubtful and these two are remote and shadowy. They probably represent some tradition that the Corco L. were not always a vassal people as we find them in the Book of Rights (p. 42).

Ailill Laebchuire was according to some authorities the real ancestor of the Erna and Clanna Dedad. (See Clanna D., p. 6). If so, Eochu was a kinsman of Curoi and his relation to Clanna D. in MU. and in CRR. very natural.

Anle, son of Leo Lamfata, is mentioned in the Dindsenchus of Druim Cliabh (Drumcliff, N. of Sligo) as lord of Dún Bárc. He was besieged here for a year and a half by Caurnan Cosdub, chieftain of Drum Cliabh. (See Gl. M. in CR. III, p. 126). According to Onom. Gad. there were two “Dún na mBárcs,” one in Kerry, one in Donegal. The Dún Bárc in Anle’s story was probably in Donegal and, as Caurnan organized a fleet to attack it, probably on an island. The full story, “Forbais Dún Bárc,” is missing. It is included in the list of primh-sgéalta in LL. so that Eochu’s ancestry had a saga of their own and are not mere dummies in a genealogy. The summary of the tale as given in the Dindsenchus only says that Anle and his queens perished in the sack of Dún Bárc. Had the full tale survived we could judge better how Anle of Donegal came to be ancestor of Eochu of North Munster. (LL. 165 a, 213 a, ; D. 2. 2, p. 49.)

Luchta is called "Lugh son of Lugaid Lamhfhinn the praise-worthy . . . high-king of Munster," co-temporary with Eochaid Feidlech and Daire mac Dedad, in *Cath Cumair*, 23. K. 37, R.I.A.

Fergus is claimed as a connection of Eochu's through his mother, Roch. His descendants, the Corcom Ruad, and Eochu's descendants, the Uathne and Éli, were near neighbours. So this connexion is probably based on family tradition.

Forbri was one of a second set of Coicedaigh, said to have ruled Ireland during the revolutionary period of the Aithech Tuatha, circa 100 A.D.

Connaught	Ulster	Leinster	Two Munsters
Sanb.	Elim.	Eochu Anchenn.	Lugaid Alludach, Forbri mac Fine.

(Rawl. 147 b, LL. 319 b).

Of these Sanb was a Domnann chief who had displaced Medb's descendants; Elim was a descendant of Fergus mac Roich, who for a while displaced the family of Conall Cearnach; Eochu Anchenn does not appear in any royal Leinster pedigree, so he, too, was probably an interloper; but in Munster Lugaid Alludach was the lineal representative of Clanna Dedad and Forbri was evidently the legitimate successor of Eochu mac Luchta, who left no sons. Therefore, if we may believe Irish historians, Eochu's family held his province after him and his name, not Forbri's, stuck to it.

It will be noticed that Forbri's pedigree is shorter than Eochu's. This is obviously impossible given their respective dates. Where mistakes or falsifications have occurred it is impossible to tell, but they would not necessarily disprove the fact of relationship between these two.

There is a passage in LG. (in LL. 22 a) which says: "None of Ugaire's children left descendants save Cobthach . . . Laegaire . . . and two daughters of Fergus Cnai, viz., Maer and Medan. Maer was mother of Eochu mac Luchta and Medan nursed him." This bit of information stands apart from the rest of Eochu's story. He was many generations after Ugaire and far removed from Fergus

Cnai's territory, Déisi tuaiscirt = district round Clonmel. Maer and Medan are numbered among famous women in the Bansenchus (Lecan, 386), but no other female relation of Eochu appears. He had two daughters, Uathni and Ele, ancestresses of peoples of these names. No male descendants are attributed to him anywhere.

His distinguishing characteristic among the warlike kings of the Táin period is that he was a judge, lawmaker and man of peace.

His "judgements" are mentioned in the Senchus Mór (Laws i. 18, 23), In "Ectrai Cormaic" they are classed with those of Fachtna mac Senchadh, Morann mac Maen and other famous judges ("Echtrai" in IT., vol. III). In Cormac's Glossary a law of his, "Gaire Echdach maic Luchtai," is quoted twice (Anecd. IV, pp. 33, 90). It is evidently concerned with cattle, but the exact sense is uncertain as the language of the two quotations varies.

The references to Eochu in the Táin cycle are not numerous. I have found the following :

- In MU. ; Ailill and Medb come to Temair Luachra to meet Eochu mac Luchta with his province and Cúruí mac Daire with the Clanna Dedad. Eochu plays no part in the rest of this saga.
- In Talland Etair ; this gives the leading incident in Eochu's story, the taking of his eye by Athirne. It is told in prose in the Talland (LL., p. 114 b), in C. 6. 1, p. 77, in 23. O. 29, p. 114 R.I.A., and in poetry and prose in the Dindsenchus of Loch Dergderc. This last has been fully edited by Mr. Gwynn (TL., 10, p. 338) and Whitley Stokes, (RC. 15, p. 461). For the "Talland" version see RC. 8, p. 48. C. 6. 1. presents a somewhat different version from these others : "In Ireland there dwelt a hard merciless man, Athairne Ailgesacht was his name, son of Ferchertne of the Ultu, a man who stole his one eye from the blind and the woman from her children. He went on a circuit by Conchobar's counsel. This is how he began and how he planned to go lefthandwise about Ireland till he made the round of Connacht. This is the way he went then to the king of Mid-

Ireland between the two *Ath Cliaths*, viz., to *Eochaidh mac Luchta* in south Connaught. *Eochaidh* went to deliver *Athairne* to the men of Munster over the Shannon, southward. "That thou mayst not shew thanklessness towards us, O *Athairne*," said *Eochaidh*, "if we have aught of jewels or treasures thou wouldst desire, take them." "There is, forsooth," said *Athairne*, "the single eye there in thy head to be given to me into my fist."

(So far C. 6. 1, is in practical agreement with the "Talland" version. From this on it supplies details not to be found in any other version known.)

Eochaidh took counsel with the men of Munster, should he give his eye to *Athairne*. The men of Munster said they would not allow him to give away his single eye. Then his mother came to him and said: "No, no my son," said she, give thine eye for thy honour's sake and for the honour of Munster, for fame is more lasting than life. Wert thou slain in battle the raven would make his feast of your limbs (?) on the plain." Then *Eochaidh* put his finger under his eye and cast it from him into *Athairne's* lap. Then the men of Munster left *Eochaidh* after he had cut the eye from out his head. "Is anyone with me?" said *Eochaidh*. "Yes," said the attendant, "thy mother and thy servant." "Take my hand," said the king, "to the water till I wash my face, for the gush of blood is choking me." Then the king arose and pulled two handfuls of rush-tails so that the stream of clear water sprang up into his face and both his eyes came again in his head. He said to the servant, "Has the eye been torn out of my head, O *giolla*?" said the king. (Here C. 6, 1, falls into line with the "Talland" version again). "Woe is me!" said the servant, "Red is the lough with thy blood." "Therefore the name shall triumph," said he, "namely, *Dergderc* = Redlough." For the generosity that the king shewed, viz., giving his single eye for his honour's sake God gave him a miracle of generosity, viz., his two eyes for his one eye, and it is sung . . . (Here probably followed the poem as given in the *Dindsenchus*, but C. 6. 1, omits it,

and adds) and it is what scholars say that Athairne went at Conchobar's mandate, so that whatever noble in Ireland should refuse or deny him, he himself might plunder and exile him."

Comparing this with the other versions we note that in the Dindsenchus versions the poet's name is Ferchertne, in the Talland and in C. 6. 1. his name is Athairne. C. 6. 1. calls him "son of Ferchertne." As other tales of Athairne's greed are told, he is most probably the villain of this story also. In RC. XV, p. 462, we are told he went to Eochu "to beg his eye in payment for Boirche's hen, which the poets brought from the West." There was some story about this hen which is lost. Apparently Eochu had something to do with it, but what it may have been there is no other reference to show. The details supplied by C. 6. 1, viz., the counsel with the Munstermen and the intervention of the mother, shew that the prose Dindsenchus and the "Talland" version are summaries of a longer tale.

In Táin Bó Flidais, CR. III, p. 15; Ailill and Medb . . . summoned to their presence the chiefs of the four provinces who were in Cruachan, having been brought there to go on the Táin Bó Cuailgne. These are the great nobles who were there—to wit, Lugaid son of Curoi, Eochaid son of Fingen son of Luchta, Eochaid Gusmar son of Tigernach Tedbannach son of Degadh, etc. . . . p. 17. . . . "thus were the battalions marshalled: Lugaid son of Curoi and Eochaid Gusmar in command of Clanna Dedad; Lugaid son of Níos, Loch son of Feibis, Eogan Finn son of Fingen in command of the province of Eochu mac Luchta, etc."

In CRR.; after the Táin, when Conchobhar renewed the war and threatened Leinster, "Eochu mac Luchta went with the clans of the Recartaig Dedad to Temair Luachra, Ailill and Medb went to Cruachan . . . a resolution was agreed upon by Eochu mac Luchta and the Clanna Dedad: payment . . . and reparation . . . to Conchobhar. Messengers were sent by Eochu to Ailill and Medb with that proposal." Conchobhar refused "reparation, restitution

and guarantees," fought the battle of Ross na Ríg and "therefrom arose the expedition of the battle of Findchorad." In this battle Eochu mac Luchta fell. The Dindsenchus poem says "the history of Eochaid has been spread abroad . . . in every conflict he was a 'beetle of havoc' till he was found laid low at Findchora."—(TL. 10, p. 341). Other references to this battle are:

"The Ulaid! many their exploits,
 their triumphs were incomparable . . .
 the battle of Rathán, the battle of Ross na Ríg,
 the battle of Duma Beinne . . .
 the battle of Edar . . .
 The truly vigorous battle of Findchara,
 the battle of Gáireach . . . etc."—(MR. 210).

"Medb at Aenach Cluitheamnach . . . preparing for the battle of Findchorad against Conchobar . . ."—(Cath Boinde, Ériu II, p. 185).

"Croch Mór . . . of Clanna Dedad fell at Ath Crocha by Cuchullain in the battle of Findchoradh."—(D. 2, 2, 83 b).

"Fadb hua Omna; others say that it is in the battle of Fionnchoradh that he fell."—(CRR., p. 94).

"The head of Eochaid mac Luchta was found at Findchorad. It was larger than a great cauldron . . ."—(FM., 1157).

Findchorad is Corofin, or between Corofin and Slieve Callan, Co. Clare. (See Onom.).

Ath Crocha is a ford on the Shannon, near Shannon Harbour in King's Co. (See Onom.). The two places are wide apart and the battlefield cannot have included both. The fight at Ath Crocha may have been a frontier skirmish before the actual battle. According to Professor McNeill a tract still exists in MS. on "Cath Findcorad" which would probably clear up this and other points, but he had lost the actual reference and I have failed to find it after prolonged search. The references given show that Eochu, Medb and Clanna Dedad were allies on the one side against Ulster on the other, that it was considered a leading Ulster victory, that it was later than the Táin and the battles of Edar and Ross na Ríg, that Eochu mac Luchta fell in it and was

said to be buried where he fell. The reference in FM. shows that local tradition in 1157 A.D., more than a thousand years after the Táin age, kept up the memory of Eochu and his burial-place. The exaggerated description of the skull is not a proof of falsehood, but rather a tribute to the fame of Eochu.

An extract from the Book of Lecan, p. 279 b, says, "Aengus mac Fiachach of the Fir Gubraidi: they were in Ciarraighe Luachra and Tir Maine in Connaught, Four sons of Fiachra mac Airt went to Eochaid mac Luchta in Magh Inis for refuge from a Fomorian attack, and their sister, Indeacht, went with them and the king, Eochaid, supported (?) them. Thence are the Corco Fiachrach among the Fothad" (cp. BB 169a). This scrap of local tradition agrees with other points in the description of Eochu, viz., his leading position in North Munster and his generosity. Fugitives from Tir Maine would naturally turn to him first as the nearest powerful neighbour.

From the foregoing stories of, and references to, Eochu we can gather that his territory was *not* South Munster. He is called: "King of Mid-Ireland between the two Ath Cliaths (Dublin and Clarinbridge, Galway) . . . in south Connacht."—(LL., 114 b; C. 6. 1, p. 77).

"King of Clare and Codal" (latter unidentified).—(TL. 10, p. 343).

"Uaithni and Éli, two daughters of Eochu mac Luchta: Eile's country from the Shannon East and South, Uathne's country from the Shannon West and North to Dergderc."—(LL., 190 b; Rawl., 155 b; H. 3. 17, col. 747; Misc. Celt. Soc. V, p. 59).

His story therefore centres round Lough Derg and the Shannon, and his territory would seem to have included North Limerick, East Clare, West Tipperary to a point about Banagher. The Clanna Dedad are also said to have held Clare at this time (Clanna D., pp. 20, 21). The country was probably divided between the allies, but Eochu was to the *north* of the Clanna D. The identification of "Coiced Echach Abratrúad mic Luchte" with South Munster from Waterford to Bealach Conglas, is, I am sure, a mistake. With reference to the two daughters named above: according to McNeill (Early Irish Pop.-Groups) the tribe-names,

Éli and Uaithni, belong to the very oldest variety of people-names in Ireland. These two peoples claimed paternal descent from Conall Cearnach and his son, Irial Glunmar, Ulstermen.

"Forc and Iboth were two sons of Irial Glunmar. Rechtaid Red-arm leaves them in Alba . . . They came on a voyage across . . . to settle on lands. They occupied Cluchri . . . Ui Maine . . . Fiachrach Aidne . . . Baiscinn in succession from their grandmother Uaithne, daughter of Eochu mac Luchta, and Tir Ele westward from the Shannon and northward from Loch Derg. By the names of the women are distinguished their kindreds."—(BB., 164 b).

This passage from BB. is not so precise as to the two territories as LL. and Rawl., which agree in placing Ele to the *East* and Uathne to the *West*. All three MSS. agree that Eochu's daughters married these Scoto-Irish invaders and were the foundresses of the two tribes named after them. The extreme antiquity of the names suggests that they are even older than the days of Eochu and his children. They probably belonged to some aboriginal race and Eochu's daughters and their names are a symbolic expression for the intermarriage of Ulster invaders with the women of the soil who might very well all answer to the title "Eochu mac L's. daughters," as they inhabited the province called after him. If this be so the Ulster strain was absorbed into the older stock and Eochu's family kept the kingship down to Forbri mac Fine a century later. After his time the tract "Bórama" in LL., 294 b mentions a "Eochu mac Daire king of Eochu mac Luchta's province," but I can find nothing to show what family he belonged to.

The name "Luchta" occurs in connexion with other people besides Eochu. In "Airne Fingen" we have a Fingein mac Luchta co-temporary with Conn Cedcathach. The "Airne" in Bk. of Lismore says, "Fingein was brother to Tigernach Tetbuillech mac Luchta from whom is named Coiced maic Luchta." The version in D. 4. 2, fo. 46 a, says nothing of this, but locates him at Druim Fingin, near Dungarvan. Date and locale therefore differentiate him from Eochu entirely.

There were a tribe, the hUi Luchta.—(Rawl. 161, a). Nothing

seems to connect them with Eochu or his period. They were probably the same as the Cenel Luchta descended from Conall Cernach in hUi Maine.—(Onom.).

A "Eochaid mac Luchta from whom is Find hUi Baircne" is mentioned in H. 3. 17, col. 794 and Lecan 453. He is not the "Eochu" proper.

The story of Eochu was adapted in later ages to explain the origin of the O'Sullivan family in the seventh century. (See K. III, p. 59). O'Curry has pointed out the objections to this. (MS. Materials, p. 267).

It is an interesting fact that between Tulla and Lough Derg in East Clare a well at Fortanne is credited with healing blindness. The moss of the well is used to wash the eyes.—(Journal R.S.A.I., XLI, pp. 7, 19). Healing-wells are common all over Ireland, but in this particular case there is probably some recollection of Eochu's story behind the belief about this well situated in the very heart of "Coiced Echach mac Luchta."

ETAR.

THE name Etar, or Edar, occurs several times in the earliest cycles of Irish literature. There seem to have been three or four characters of the name, including a woman. None of them were prominent or leading figures, and therefore there is little recorded of them, but in one case there are traces of a story of extreme antiquity of which only a confused memory survived even in Old-Irish literature. The earliest mention of the name is :

(a). Etar, or Eudar, wife of Gann, one of the five leaders of the Fir Bolg :

“ ’Twas she died . . . of grief for radiant Gand in Bend Etar suddenly . . . the wife of the king of Fremu.”—(See TL. 10, p. 115 ; LG., p. 131).

(b). The next case is that of Etar, one of four kings connected with Lough Rea in Galway. “ Etar had a daughter, Celbil Bel-maith . . . wooed by one of the kings.” Etar refuses to give his daughter and a battle is fought in which he is slain. These characters have nothing to do with any of the well-known stories. They belong to the realm of the Sidhe and must represent some very local folk-lore. (See TL. 10, p. 324).

(c). The next case is “ Etar the famous, son of Etgaeth,¹ possessed Etar (Howth) in wealth and plenty.” “ The son of Etbaith,¹ whose is the inheritance, a great chief known as far as Alba found a wife . . . Maing of Sliab Marga.”—(TL. 10, pp. 104—115).

(d). The next is, Etar king of the Eochraidi of the Sidhe . . . the warrior from Inbiur Cichmuine in the province of Conchobhar, the father of Etain.—(IT., vol. I, pp. 119, 120, 131).

(e). Lastly ; an Edar mac Edgaidh and a brother, Íth, appear in the Táin stories. They are only mentioned by name and nothing further is told of them, so that whether they were intended for Leinstermen or Ulstermen it is impossible to say. (See B. IV. 1, R.I.A. ; LL., 56 b).

¹) Both spellings are used in Dinds.

No character of the name at a later date is known to me so far. Of the above instances the first four belong to the period of myth. Only the last can be termed a saga character. In the case of (a), (b) and (d) they are secondary characters. In the case of (c) Etar seems to have been the leading figure in a mythic tale concerning Howth and Co. Dublin. The fullest version of this now known is the Dindsenchus of Bend Etair = Howth.—(TL. 10, p. 104). The Irish literateurs considered it very ancient, for they classed it after the Labraid Loingsech story, the Argain Dindrig, and before the Etain—Conaire cycle. This is shown by the Ban-senchus. This record of famous women is arranged chronologically from Eve downwards. Having given the womenkind of the various invasions in order, it gives those connected with Ugaine Mór; then

Moriath, wife	of Labraid Loingsech.
Margo, „	„ Edair mac Edgaeth
Beithe, „	„ Aes mac Edair.
Margo, mother	„ Dond „ Aiss.
Ealta, daughter	„ „ „ „
Edain wife	„ Eochaid Airemun.
Easa, daughter	„ „

Mess Buachalla, mother of Conaire Mor.

and so on. (See Lecan, 386; BB., 283; LL., 137; D. 2. 1, 95).

Irish scholarship, therefore, assigned the women-kind of Etar to a period *after* the Orgain Dindrig and *before* the Etain-Midir stories. The antiquity of these latter is undoubted, so that this Etar of Howth must belong to a very early layer of Leinster legend. The fullest version of the legend is: "Etar son of Etbaith a great chieftain known as far as the shores of Alba found a wife . . . Maing from Sliab Marga (in Queen's Co.). She was a fit mother of children for him; she used to cast a golden chain about him . . . he should not drown while he wore it. He had a son Aes that was not hers, she had a daughter Bethe that was not his. They went for a swimming match. Aes, a wave drowned him . . . there came the beast toward them through the sea: they left a son, did Aes and Bethe—Dond son of Aes who loved forays, whose daughter was Elta. Elta, fierce plain

covered with warriors . . . behold it in front of Etar."—(TL. 10, p. 104—108).

According to this version Mairg was wife of Etar himself. According to the Bansenchus in Lecan she was wife of his son, Aes. According to the Dindsenchus of Sliab Mairge (TL. 10, p. 162) Margg was a man. In spite of this total divergence of statements there is this link between the legends that Margg the woman was first married to a Eochaid Muniste king of the Galian, and that Margg the man comes to the house of this same Eochaid. In the Bansenchus in Lecan yet another confusion arises. Marga is called "wife of Aes mac Edair king of the Eochraidi and mother of Edain." Here the two Etars, (c) and (d), are mixed up. The story of Marga and Etar mac Etgaith was evidently hopelessly corrupted by the twelfth century. What is clear is the fact that it was a Leinster tradition. It comes between the Wexford tales of Labraid Loingsech and the Meath and Dublin tales of Etain and Conaire. It is an early tradition of Howth, Dublin Bay and Queen's Co. We have, therefore, in the Bansenchus a compact body of Leinster tales put down as the leading feature in Irish literature at this period. Later on Connaught and Ulster come into the lime-light, but from Ugaine to Eochaid Feidlech Leinster holds the stage. There is good reason to date this period as lasting from the fourth to the first century B.C.—(see "Chariot-burial," p. 72). The settlement of Leinster by Galian brought over by Labraid Loingsech was the prominent feature in the history of the time. The Argain Dindrig embodies the memory of the invasion, and in the story of Etar and Mairg we have another Galian tradition. The connexion with a Galian king, Eochaid Muniste, is significant. All the places named in the story were in Galian territory. With the story of Etain the scene shifts more Northward and Connaught comes into view.

To return to Etar himself : he was connected with another tale :

"Etar . . . was allied to Manannan. He died here (at Howth) apart across the sea for love of radiant Aine."—(TL. 10, p. 115).

There is no other allusion to this incident known to me, but it points to the fact that Etar was sufficiently famous to attract

several legends to his name. There are indications that Scotland came into his story. Aine and Manannan dwelt at Emain Ablach in the Island of Mull.—(Bk. Fermoy, fo. 27a ; RC. 24, p. 272). Etar was known “as far as Alba.” The sentence, “died apart across the sea,” is evidently based on the above points in the story. There was certainly more detail about Etar than has come down to us.

The last Edar, (*e*), is mentioned only once in a list of friends of Fergus mac Roich. They included not only Ulster names, but one Munster name, and “Éadar mac Édghaoidh and Síthar (or Ith?) mac Édghaoidh.” (B. IV. 1, fol. 127 (124) a). Were these intended for names of Leinstermen from Howth? They do not seem to be chance names used for padding, for in the Táin an Íth mac Étgáith is stated to have been with Fergus and Cormac Conloinges, (LL., 56 b). These were evidently authentic “sons of Etgaith” associated with the Táin cycle, but whether they were supposed to have anything to do with the older mythical Edar cannot be known.

In conclusion: only two of the Etars known are associated with Bend Etair. Of the others one is located in Ulster and one in Galway. The woman, Etar, is a very shadowy figure, but Etar mac Etgaith is continually associated with Howth, whose full title was “Bend Etair maic Etgaith in fénneda” (cp. Acall. na Sen, in IT. 4, pt. 1, Echtra Airt, etc.). His legend is probably based on the history of some Galian family who once owned Howth and the plains of Dublin.

CÓIR ANMANN.

IN 1897, in the third volume of *Irische Texte*, Whitley Stokes translated and edited a tract, "Cóir Anmann = Fitness of Names." For those not acquainted with the tract I should explain that it consists of notes on nearly three hundred names from Irish history and romance. The notes profess to explain the names. According to Stokes; "two recensions of *Cóir Anmann* are known. One, the longer, is preserved in H. 3. 18, a MS. in T.C.D. . . . Of the shorter recension three copies are known, one in the Book of Ballymote, another in the Book of Lecan, and the third in Kilbride III in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The arrangement of the longer recension tries to be chronological; that of the shorter recension tries to be alphabetical: neither attempt is successful." In studying C.A. I have come to the conclusion that these last statements are misleading. The arrangement of the longer recension is not chronological, but *genealogical*. When this is understood the line of composition becomes clear. It also throws light on the relation of the two recensions to each other and on the probable dates of their composition. The long recension is the older form from which the short recension is taken, for, while pedigrees might easily be turned into an alphabetical list, it would be difficult and also improbable that anyone would try to reconstruct a pedigree out of such a list. The short recension certainly does attempt to be alphabetical. From the names included the compiler must have had the longer genealogical recension before him to work from. The oldest copy in existence presumably is that in B.B., compiled about 1390 A.D. This is the short recension. Therefore the longer one must have been in an older MS. As a matter

of fact I think there is good internal evidence that most of C.A. is of pre-Norse date. This evidence is the subject of this study. I may also point out that the genealogical scheme followed is the reason why many names of no importance in themselves are included in C.A. It was not intended as a list of celebrities. The following analysis will show the original scheme of composition and the deviations from it :

Paragraphs 1—76 are a Munster section, which may be subdivided as follows :

- 1—4. Names from an early section of Síl Ebhir known as Clann Mafemis.
 - 5—44. Names from a later section of Síl Ebhir which developed into the Eoganachta.
 - 45—51. Names from the pedigree of the Eoganacht of Glenamh-nach.
 - 52—54. Other Eoganacht names, but out of order.
 - 55—66. Some names from the pedigree of the Corco Duibhne of Kerry.
 - 67—75. Some names from the pedigree of the Corco Láighde.
- Paragraphs 76—148 are a Connaught and hUi Néill section arranged as follows :—
- 76—92. Names from the pedigree, Erimón to Ugaine Mór, common to both Leinster and Connaught royal houses.
 - 93—104. Names from the Connaught royal line down to Eochaid Feidlech.
 - 104—117. Names from Eochaid Feidlech's line in North Leinster down to Eochaid Muigmedhon.
 - 118—148. Names from Eochaid M's. descendants, including the Ui Néill.
 - 149—159. Names of Tuatha Dé Danann.
 - 160—165. Miscellaneous.
 - 166—171. Names of the Déissi.
 - 172—173. Miscellaneous.
- Paragraphs 174—220 are a Leinster section :

- 174—209. Names from the Leinster branch of Ugaine Mór's descendants down to the fourth century, A.D.
 210—212. Miscellaneous.
 213—219. Names from the Osairge pedigree down to Cu Cerca, eighth century.
 220—244. Miscellaneous.

Paragraphs 245—287 are an Ulster section. The pedigree scheme is abandoned in this section entirely.

The latest name entered and annotated is in par. 125, Niall Caille, of the Aileach branch of the hUi Néill. He died circa 846 A.D.¹ No other pedigree is carried down to within a hundred years of this date. The following table shows the latest entries in the other pedigrees :

Eoganacht Glenamhnach = latest entry is in 664 A.D.

Síl Aeda Slaine	„	„	„	684	„
hUi Brúin	„	„	„	499	„
hUi Fiachrach	„	„	„	549	„
Déissi	„	„	„	450	„
hUi Cennselaigh	„	„	„	483	„
Osairge	„	„	„	710	„

With the exception of four princes of the Aileach line the entries all relate to personages and events prior to 720 A.D. I have been able to identify all names save one. Certainly no well-known name of the ninth or tenth centuries occurs anywhere. I think the following points are strong arguments for pre-Norse composition of C.A. :

First : in the Munster section there are no allusions to Cormac mac Culenáin or to the Dál Cais. Now Cormac was the leading scholar in Munster in the ninth century. He was not on good terms with the Eoganacht, but was a close friend and ally of the Dál Cais. They, down to Cormac's time, were a secondary tribe of not much importance settled in Clare and Limerick. After 900 A.D. they emerge into the light of history. But from the third century to the eighth A.D. we find the Eoganacht the prominent family in Munster. C.A. reflects the time when they

¹) In 845 acc. to Annals of Ulster.

were the overlords of Munster. It stops short in the Munster section after 664 A.D. Had it been composed or revised in Munster after 900 A.D. it is incredible that Cormac and his influence should not be felt in it somewhere. In the last part of C.A. post-Norse influence is perceptible, but certainly not in the opening Munster section, which is a tribal work of one branch of the Eoganacht.

Secondly : the section dealing with the hUi Néill is carried down to 846 A.D. The work was continued by someone interested in that family. Was there any reason why they should stop there ? Niall Caille was not the last of his family nor was his reign a landmark in Irish affairs. But in 820 began the Norse invasions. In 832 Turgesius arrived in Ireland.

“ In 846 Niall Caille of the Meath Ui Neill died.”

“ In 849 the king of the Cianachta, with the assistance of the Foreigners, wasted the Ui Neill, both churches and districts, from the Shannon to the sea ;” i.e. Meath—(Annals of Ulster).

These dates and facts are significant. They show good reason why C.A. stood still at this date and after the name of a Meath king. From 850 to 1000 A.D. schools were broken up, books burnt and scholars scattered. The development of C.A. was arrested and, though it survived the Norse wars, it received no further additions save, and excepting, the Ulster section at the end. Such at least is the inference I draw from the above considerations.

Thirdly : the names of a literary character in C.A. are all taken from the first two great cycles, viz., the Tuatha Dé Danann and the Ulidian cycles. There is no name from the Finn cycle at all. Good authorities consider this cycle to have developed from the ninth century onwards. If C.A. had been composed, or added to, in the tenth or eleventh centuries it is most probable some leading names at least from the popular Finn cycle would have been included, as, for instance, in the historical poem of Gilla in Chomded written circa 1100 A.D. It is true that par. 122 mentions the Fianna, but Professor Meyer points out that this term was applied to warrior-bands other than the Fianna of Finn

mac Cumail and does not necessarily refer to them only.—(Fianaigecht, TL. XVI.)

These reasons seem to me good proof that the bulk of C.A. is pre-Norse in date.

I now pass on to examine the Munster section in detail and to give the reasons for considering it an Eoganacht document.

Munster Section, pars. 1—75.

The first four entries deal with the earliest ancestry of all Síl Ebhir—that is, of all Munster Milesians. At par. 5 the pedigree of the Eoganacht in general begins and is carried down to par. 45 when the pedigree of the Eoganacht Glenamhnach in particular is singled out for attention. The Eoganacht pedigree can be found in many MSS.; for instance, LL. 320, BB. 172, Rawl. 148 and 154, Lecan 407, etc. These agree in the main, while differing in minor points of spelling, etc. C.A. has marked differences from them all. It is true that C.A. all through is not particular in keeping to the usual sequence of pedigrees, but in this Munster pedigree the differences suggest that C.A. was compiled from a different version of the Eoganacht line than that in the above MSS. I give a section for purposes of comparison, as follows :

Sequence downward,	C.A.
from BB. and Lecan (reversed).	par. 10.
Muineamon	Muineamon
Aildergoid	Aildergdóid
Cete Cumnech	Roan Ri Oilech
Failbe Ilchorach	Rothechtaid or Rotha or Anroth or Eochaid Urchain.
Righairligh	Failbe Fal-choirthech
Roan	Cass Cét-chuimnech
Roide Roithecht	
Anruid	
Lughaid Firerduinn	
Eochaid Uarches	

Elim Oll-fhinnachta

Art Imlech

Bressrigh

etc.

Eilim Oll-fínsnechta

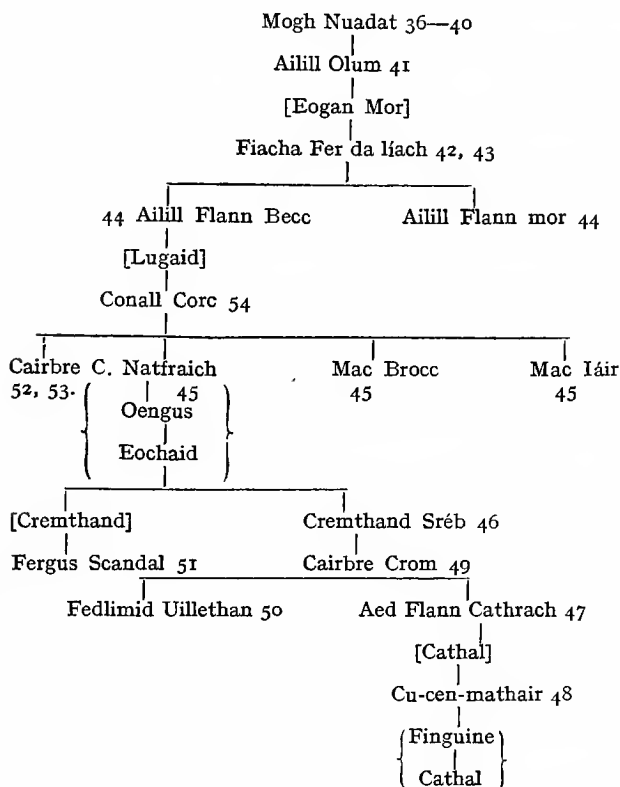
Art Imlech

Bresrígh

etc.

It will be noticed that in C.A. the pedigree is considerably shorter than in the other MSS. owing to the attribution of four names to the one man. This may be a proof of greater antiquity as the older Irish MSS. were far more concise and curt than the later mediæval work. It may also show how pedigrees grew longer with time and transcription if four ancestors were made out of one. There is an undoubted case of this in the copy of the Eoganacht pedigree in Rawl. 154, where three names from a gloss are incorporated in the pedigree by mistake. Of course it is also possible that the reverse process took place, but the general evidence points to brevity as a sign of antiquity. It must also be pointed out that C.A. omitted names intentionally, e.g., Fer Arda, whose note should have preceded par. 9. The fact that par. 9 mentions him shows he was passed over deliberately. It is doubtful, therefore, whether C.A. represents older material than the official pedigree, but it is certainly not taken from any of the MSS. containing it mentioned above. The notes follow the general Eoganacht pedigree without divergence down to Corc. Pars. 36—43 are much fuller than the other notes. They are taken up with stories of Mogh Nuadat and Ailill Olum, the founders of Eoganacht power in Munster. Pars. 44—54 are a jumble of names, mostly of the Eoganacht Glenamhnach, but with no attempt at classification or sequence. They are not conspicuous names in history or in romance and there seems no reason for their inclusion in C.A. except that, as the compiler worked down towards his own day, he enlarged his work to include the uncles, cousins, etc., of his chief as well as the direct line of forebears. All these Glenamhnach relations are to be found in the genealogies as this table will show: the

names in brackets are not in C.A. The numbers are those of the paragraphs :



The last name entered in point of date is Cu-cen-mathair. The date of his death is given in the Four Masters as 664 A.D., the year in which they also record an eclipse. Bede has recorded the eclipse as in 665 A.D., but the Four Masters have been proved to be correct. We may therefore take their record for this year as reliable history. Now Cu-cen-mathair does not seem to have been specially distinguished in any way. His grandson, Cathal mac Finguine, was a far more famous character. He reigned over Munster from 709-737 A.D. If C.A. had been compiled

later than 737 Cathal would have been a far more natural stopping-point than Cu. As neither Cathal nor his father are mentioned in C.A. and, as Cu and the generations just before him figure largely in the notes, it is permissible to conclude that this opening section of C.A. was compiled *after* 664, but *before* 709. There is a poem in Rawl. 148 b, by a Luccraid Mocu Chiara on the Eoganacht pedigree which starts with Cu-cen-mathair and traces the line back from him. It is in accordance with the pedigree in Lecan, BB., etc., already referred to. It is therefore by a different author than the compiler of C.A., but both make Cu the latest name in date. This points to active historical research just after 664. It was probably carried on at Cashel, the Eoganacht capital, and it is significant that the opening sections of Leabhar na gCeart also deal with Munster and that St. Benean, a cousin and cotemporary of Corc the founder of Cashel, is said to have begun the Psalter of Cashel, which would point to Cashel as one of the earliest seats of literary and historical activity. If the Psalter was begun circa 450 to 500 it would not be surprising for a work like C.A. to have originated after 664.

Here the Eoganacht entries end, but the Munster entries are carried on to par. 75. The Dál Cais had not yet risen to prominence and the other Eoganacht branches are ignored. The compiler took up the Corco Duibhne of Kerry. They were the representatives in the seventh century of the Erna and Clanna Dedad, but their pedigree is treated very briefly and is not carried down later than the second century A.D. There is no allusion to Dearmaid O Duibhne, their hero in the Finn cycle.

At par. 67 the Corco Laidhe are taken up. They represented a very old Munster strain, but the names selected from their pedigree are few and are not arranged in any sequence. Immense space is given to a legend, and the latest entry is that of Mac Con whose date is about the second century A.D. Eochu Fiadmaine (par. 74) is generally traced to Eremon, but the Laud synchronisms say "Eochu F. and Conaing were of the Corco Laidi" (ZCP. IX, p. 476), so that there is no doubt these last entries were intended for a Corco Laidhe section. For the other names the Geinealach Corco L. in *Miscellany Celt. Soc.*, vol. V, can be consulted. (See also pedigree at p. 43). From the sketchy

treatment of these last two pedigrees it seems unlikely that they were added by any member of their respective families. It is probable they were added by the Eoganacht compiler. As the two families were tributary to the Eoganacht kings he would naturally treat their pedigrees with little respect or care compared to that of their over-lords.

With par. 75 the Munster section ends. Other Munster names appear further on, but only as miscellaneous entries. I think it probable that the work remained as it was until a new hand took it up at a much later date and in a different locality. That new hand I conjecture to have been an hUi Néill scribe in the ninth century. The reasons for this I shall try and make clear in the following analysis :

The Connaught hUi Néill section is nearly as long as that of Munster, covering seventy-two paragraphs. It's development is interesting. It begins with two paragraphs on Connaught and then goes straight on to Eremón and his line. The usual account of Eremón does not connect him with Connaught, but with the North of Ireland. The notable tract, "Senchus na Relec," gives however a different tradition : "Cruachan, it was there the race of Eremón were used to bury . . . Why was it not at Brugh? Because the two provinces Síol Eremoin possessed were Gailian and *Olnecmacht*. . . . Connaught was the peculiar inheritance of Cobthach Caol mBregh (son of Ugaine)."

It is evident that C.A. was based on this view of Eremón's origin and territory and not on that given in the Leabar Gabala. Eremón was the acknowledged ancestor of the Connaught royal family as well as of that of Leinster. But Cruachan in Connaught was the burial-place of *both*, which looks as if the Eremonian tribes were really a stock of purely Connaught origin. This is the obvious reason for the plan followed in C.A.

The usual pedigrees give 23 generations from Eremón to Ugaine. C.A. only gives 12. It is impossible to tell whether this is due to deliberate omission or to a shorter version of the pedigree. Of these twelve names three are left without explanation. In all the hUi Néill section eight entries are thus unfinished. In the Munster section all entries are complete. It looks as if the com-

Six			names from the Aileach line, descendants of Eogan mac Néill.
Ten	„	„	the Síl Aeda Slaine and Clanna Colmáin, descendants of Conall Cremthand mac Néill.
Four	„	„	the hUi Briúin of Connaught, cousins of the hUi Néill.
„	„	„	the Airghialla, cousins of hUi Néill.
„	„	„	the hUi Fiachrach, cousins of hUi Néill.

There are no names at all from the descendants of Conall Gulban mac Néill, though they included such well-known names as Colmcille, Aodh mac Ainmire, Domhnall, Loingseach and other High-kings in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. This is significant. Colmcille and his tribe are credited with the overthrow of Síl Aeda Slaine in two battles. Now Aed Slaine comes in for particular attention in C.A., which looks as if the compiler of this part of C.A. was an adherent of his family. If so he would naturally ignore Colmcille's belongings. That he was probably a Meath man is also indicated by his attention to the Aileach line who were not settled in Inishowen, but at Clettach, Slane, Cenannus, along the Boyne and in Meath. It is true the latest entries are all of the Aileach line, so the compiler may have been an adherent of theirs rather than of Síl Aeda Slaine, but both were Meath families as opposed to the descendants of Conall Gulban of Donegal. I think there can be no doubt of a change of hand between the Munster and hUi Néill sections. No Munster scholar in 850 A.D. would give hUi Néill names of that date and omit Munster names. No hUi Néill scholar would pick out one Eoganacht line for comment in preference to other Munster families of equal rank. I think internal evidence clearly points to a Munster work of 700 A.D., taken up about 150 years later

by an Ó Neill of Meath and left unfinished owing to the ravages of invasion.

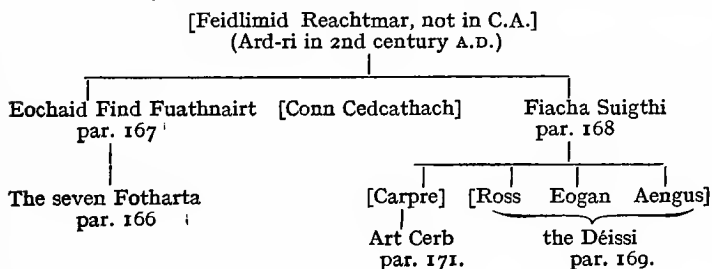
It has been already pointed out that eight entries in the hUi Néill section are unfinished. Another entry in this section, no. 117, has been cut in two, the last half appearing as par. 140.

In par. 148 we have probably a case of mistaken identity. Conaing Begfiaccla, according to the usual accounts, has nothing to do with the hUi Néill. He is of very early date. The Conaing meant to be annotated was surely Conaing Currach son of Conghal son of Aed Slaine (Keat. III, pp. 238, 144 ; LL. 42a, 335d). The poem quoted by C.A. confirms this conjecture. The name may have been left by original compiler unfinished and some other scribe have supplied the wrong identification.

At par. 149 the hUi Néill notes end and a section dealing with Tuatha D.D. names begins. This does not necessarily indicate a new compiler. It is very probable that the same hand carried the compilation down to par. 244, which is a note on the death of Aed Slaine and two other kings in 603 A.D. After the Tuatha D.D. names come some miscellaneous entries one of which, 161, refers to a Fergus Folcthech, whom I cannot identify.

In par. 162 we have a solitary name, Aed Gnái, from the Corcomruad pedigree. He is one of the very few descendants of Fergus mac Roich mentioned in C.A. From his place in the pedigree his date would be circa 200 A.D. He is followed by three names from the Dál Cais. They were neighbours of the Síl Corcomruad in Clare at an early period. None of the three are later than 500 A.D.

At par. 166 begins a short section on the Déissi of Munster. At first the connection of these names is not apparent, but they are linked together thus :—



The latest name is that of Ethne, the famous foster-daughter of the Déissi in the fifth century A.D. (par, 170).

Pars. 172, 173 refer to a descendant of the Collas, whose date would be circa 400 A.D.

At par. 174 begins the Leinster section. Again it is possible there was a change of hands at this point, but I think it more likely that the Leinster entries were made by the compiler of the hUi Néill section. Labraid Loingsech is taken as the starting point. Out of 25 generations down to Cathair Mór C.A. annotates 18. One is left unfinished. Cathair's sons are then given and a start seems to be made with the hUi Cennselaigh. But it is not carried out. Énda Cennselach is given (par. 209) and then, instead of working out this important family as a Leinsterman would surely have done, the compiler remembers another Énda, an hUi Néill, and dropping the Leinster line puts in Enda Bógúine (par. 210) and takes no further interest in the hUi Cennselaigh whatsoever. This looks as if there was still an Ó Néill hand at work. Énda Bógúine was son of Conall Gulban of Donegal and had nothing at all to do with Leinster.

At par. 213 the Osairge are taken up. The usual order followed, taking the pedigree downward, is here reversed. The first name given is that of Cu Cerca, who died in 710 A.D. (See Four Masters). Five earlier names from his pedigree are then given, none of them well-known. Altogether the Leinster entries do not suggest a family interest or local knowledge on the part of whoever made them. This comes out also in par. 220 on the Fothads. There were various versions of their origin. One account makes them Connaughtmen, another traces them to Labraid Longsech, therefore Leinstermen. C.A. traces them to a Munsterman, Mac Con, while placing them at the end of the Leinster notes. No Leinster author would have omitted their Leinster connection in such a place.

After this comes a very miscellaneous section dealing with literary and historical names mixed together in no order. The last entry, par. 244, harks back to hUi Néill history of 603 A.D. and to Aed Sláne. I am inclined, as I said before, to see in this a hint of the hUi Néill author still at work collecting notes

and jotting them down with the intention of subsequent revision, which was never carried out. I have already suggested that the troubles of the Norse invasions cut short the work about 850 A.D. The remainder of C.A., pars. 245—287, suggest a new hand and another age.

This last part is evidently intended for an Ulster section to complete the round of the provinces. Its composition differs widely from that of Munster or Connaught. No leading pedigree is selected and worked out. The interest is centred in the characters of the Táin cycle. The latest historical name entered is that of Fiachna Lurgan of the Dál Araidhe, who died in 625 A.D. The later developments of the Dál Araidhe receive no attention. These points are rather in favour of an early compilation, but in par. 245 we have a story of undoubted post-Norse characteristics, viz., Cath Oenaigh Macha. The full version of this tale is to be found in C. I. 2, R.I.A. It is totally different in character from the other Táin literature. It is a tale of the "Cath Finntragha" nature with the Táin personnel instead of that of the Finn cycle. It could not have been composed before 820 A.D.

The lack of interest in the leading families of Ulster and the literary character of most of the entries suggest that the compiler was not an Ulsterman. An entry in par. 271 may furnish a clue to his identity—"Satni = Sat-fine, family of Satan, for Satan was in the company of Lula Littenach from whom the Satni descend." This was certainly not written by a friend of the Satni. Who were they? In Rawl., p. 153b, and Lecan, 460 Saitni are mentioned along with Luigni and Gailenga as descendants of Cormac Gaileng. In Onom. Gad. they are proved to have been settled in Meath and Co. Dublin. References quoted point to a quarrel between them and the Ó Conors during the twelfth century. They also seem to have fought with their relations, the Galenga of Sligo. It is possible that the Ulster notes were the work of a scholar of one of these Connaught families some time in the twelfth century; an O'Conor or an O hEadra or O Gadra. This would account for the fling at the Satni, who had nothing to do with Ulster, and were no ancient tribe of the

Táin period, but a mediæval family of later origin. In this connexion it is worth noting that Stokes thought that "the composition of C.A. can hardly be put before the twelfth century." He formed this judgement from the character of the language. But if a new hand added the Ulster section in the twelfth century it is practically certain that the older sections would be modernized at the same time and the language brought up-to-date. All the archaisms noted by Stokes occur with one exception in the earlier part of C.A. down to par. 217. The Middle-Irish character of the language in no way invalidates the pre-Norse character of the subject matter down to par. 244. I submit, therefore, that the conclusions already stated as to the composition of C.A. are both probable and rational and summarize them as follows :

(a). That C.A. was originally a Munster work of the end of the seventh century, and ended at par. 75.

(b). That it was taken up in the ninth century and carried on by some person connected with the Ui Néill kingdom of central Ireland.

(c). That the Norse invasions cut short the work before final revision.

(d). That in the twelfth century a new and enlarged edition was brought out, probably in Connaught.

(e). That from this last edition was taken the shorter recension on alphabetical lines before 1350 A.D.

I have taken the liberty of reprinting the two following papers from the Zeitschrift, as I wished to be able to give them along with my other work to friends who I know would never see the ZCP. In the time of such a war as the present it seemed futile and impossible to write to publishers in Germany for formal permission to do so.

July, 1917.

ON CHARIOT-BURIAL IN ANCIENT IRELAND.

THE object of this paper is to point out and prove, if possible, that the old-Irish story 'Orgain Dind Ríg,'¹⁾ contains an allusion to one of the most interesting discoveries of Celtic archæology ; I mean the custom of chariot-burial as practised in certain localities and at a certain period. I shall begin by explaining, as far as the evidence I have collected will permit, what the custom was and how its existence has been proved.

For the last forty years or more French archæologists have been exploring countless graves and tumuli in all parts of France. They have discovered graves of every age and of very varied civilizations. In many cases the graves contained objects which by their style or material or ornamentation have enabled archæologists to fix their date. About 1872 a remarkable set of discoveries was made in the tract of country lying between Paris and Switzerland, more particularly in the department of Seine-et-Marne. According to the late M. Bertrand more than 6,000 tombs were explored in this department alone.²⁾ Among these were over 30 chariot-burials—that is, a burial where a man was buried lying in his chariot, with his weapons around him. An excellent summary of the result of these discoveries is to be found in the 'Guide to early iron-age antiquities in the British Museum.' I quote as follows :³⁾ ' In the Celtic area of the Continent a number of burials have been discovered in which the warrior was buried with his chariot : these form an important class, for the most part richly furnished, and may be approximately dated by the style of ornamentation and still more precisely by vessels of

¹⁾ Edited and translated by Whitley Stokes in *Zeitschr.* III, pp. 1—14.

²⁾ See ' *Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise*,' pp. 359 and 365.

³⁾ *l.c.* p. 49.

Greek manufacture sometimes found in association. It is clear that the Celts were using two-horse chariots in central Europe in the fifth century B.C. The richest burial is that of La Gorge Meillet. It was strikingly rich in ornaments set with coral, and corresponds closely to that of Somme-Bionne . . . the sword, lances, spear-head, pottery and general arrangement enable us to refer both graves to the same period and people. At La Gorge Meillet . . . two warriors had been interred, one exactly above the other . . . The Somme-Bionne tomb contained only one body, laid between the two wheels of a chariot, the latter standing in two trenches cut below the general level of the grave. Another trench containing bridle-bits and trappings of two horses had been cut across the foot of the grave and was connected to the main tomb by a narrow trench 30 ms. long, in which the pole of the chariot had been placed. The whole was surrounded by a circular fosse . . . Graves distinguished in this manner were no doubt those of important personages . . . The distance between the chariot wheels was $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet and it is clear that the lower part of the body rested on the axle and pole of the chariot which were level with the floor of the grave. This implies that the chariot was open in front.' There is an excellent plate, taken from M. Morel's Album on burials in Champagne, which shows at a glance how everything was arranged.¹⁾ The body was laid flat on its back and the long sword was laid by the right hand, three lances by the left hand, and a dagger was laid across the left thigh close to the hand. The sword belonged to the earliest type of La Tène—that is to say, to the period including the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. when La Tène civilization began to reign in central Europe. Greek vases of the fifth century B.C. were also found in this burial ; so there can be little doubt of its approximate date. We have evidence, however, that the custom lasted later than this. A chariot-burial at Nanterre, near Paris, is dated as belonging to Middle La Tène²⁾ (323—250 B.C.) and a well-known case at Waldalgesheim, near the Rhine, is also dated

¹⁾ l. c. p. 48.

²⁾ See 'Antropologie' vol. XIII, p. 272.

later than Somme-Bionne.¹⁾ The custom did not, however, last much later than 250 B.C. approximately. After this 'the inclusion of chariot and war-harness in the grave becomes exceptional, Waldalgesheim being an isolated case. We know from history that the fighting-car was still retained by the Celts and its presence in the Yorkshire graves seems to show that it persisted in Britain longer than elsewhere.'²⁾

We may then say that it seems established that a custom of chariot-burial prevailed among the people of East Gaul from about 500 B.C. to 250 B.C. approximately. As long ago as 1889, Bertrand feels himself justified in saying 'We have the right to say, though our researches are still far from complete, that this rite was relatively frequent in East Gaul. For, as all these tombs are incontestably the tombs of chiefs, the total of thirty-six already found is relatively considerable.'³⁾ More cases have been discovered since he wrote, bringing up the number to fifty or more; but it is sufficient for our contention to note first, that he is certain chariot-burial was for those of high rank, and secondly that in his notes on the burial at Berru he gives, among the weapons found there, the dagger as well as the sword. He does not mention in what position they were found, but in the case of a grave at Montfercant⁴⁾ we find the same order as at Somme Bionne, viz., the sword at the right hand and the knife or dagger lying across the left thigh close to the left hand. So far, this is evidence for the custom in Gaul. Chariot-burials have been found in one part of Great Britain only, viz., Yorkshire. In none of them was the chariot buried entire. No case has so far been found in Ireland.

To turn now to the story itself, the 'Orgain Dind Ríg'. The principal event of the story is considered as history by Irish historians.⁵⁾ What date is assigned to it by them? The poet Orthnach puts it in the fifth century before Christ,⁶⁾ or if we

¹⁾ See 'Guide to Iron-age,' p. 53.

²⁾ I. c. p. 54.

³⁾ See 'Archéologie Celtique et Gauloise,' p. 366.

⁴⁾ See 'Guide to Iron-age,' p. 58.

⁵⁾ Stokes says (l.c., p. 1): 'There seems no ground for doubting the final incident of our tale.'

⁶⁾ See Zeitschr. III, p. 14, where for *cóic bliadna* read *cóic cét bliadna*.

follow the reading in *Zeitschr.* III, p. 8, in the third century. The Four Masters put it down as 542 B.C. — The tract 'do Flathiusaib Érenn' ¹⁾ puts it down as 307 B.C. Tigernach puts it down first as in the eighth century B.C. ²⁾ and then subsequently, states that Eochu Búadach (grandfather of the two brothers Lóegaire and Cobthach in the story) was a co-temporary of Ptolemy Lagos about 306 B.C. ³⁾ This would bring the date of the 'Orgain' down to some time in the second century B.C. ⁴⁾ Admitting that there is much uncertainty, one may still say that two or three authorities agree approximately, and that the date that seems most certain is in, or about, the third century B.C.

The next point to notice is, that in this story we have a connection with Gaul asserted. The tract 'Cóir Anmann,' § 92, says that Ceasair Chruthach, mother of Loegaire and Cobthach, was a Gaulish Princess. When Labraid is exiled by Cobthach he goes, according to one version, ⁵⁾ to somewhere 'as far as the Ictian Sea,' (the English channel) 'dia tuc na Gaullu imda leis' — 'when he brought the many foreigners with him' (to Ireland). According to another story he went 'eastward till he reached the island of the Britons and the *breac-macraid thiri Armenia* ⁶⁾ 'the speckled youths of the land of Armenia,' and takes service with the 'rí Fer menia.' D'Arbois de Jubainville ⁷⁾ suggests that, as Armenia was familiar to Irish Christian Scholars from the Bible, they confused it with 'Fir menia' which he identifies with 'Menapia,' a district of Gaul, now Cassel in the département du Nord. He points out further that when Ptolemy wrote about Ireland in the second century A.D. he mentions a Manapia in the present county of Wexford, and argues that the similarity of name implies a connexion between Gaul and Wexford.

From another account ⁸⁾ we learn that it was the Gaileoin that nourished Labraid during his exile in the lands of the Gauls (*hi tírib Gall*). Labraid is invariably described as bringing back

¹⁾ Book of Leinster, p. 22a, 49. 50.

²⁾ See Rev. Celt. XVI, p. 378.

³⁾ Ibid, p. 394.

⁴⁾ See the arguments of D'Arbois in Rev. Celt. XXVIII, p. 37.

⁵⁾ See *Zeitschrift* III, p. 8.

⁶⁾ See Rev. Celt. XX, p. 430.

⁷⁾ See Rev. Celt. XXVIII, p. 33.

⁸⁾ See 'Dindsenchas,' Rev. Celt. XV, p. 299.

with him foreigners called 'Gaileoin,' or 'Gaill.' All the stories connected with them bear out this idea. The introduction of a new kind of lance is associated with them.¹⁾ They were disliked by the older inhabitants, for in the Táin their superior drill and smartness so arouses Medb's jealousy that she proposes their extermination,²⁾ which was eventually carried out in the second century A.D. by Tuathal Techtmar.³⁾ They never seem to have amalgamated with the rest of Ireland and are mentioned by Keating as one of three tribes 'not of the Gael.'⁴⁾ There is nothing improbable in a Gaulish colony or Gaulish soldiers coming to Ireland so early as the third century B.C.

Kuno Meyer has pointed out unmistakeable Gaulish names in the genealogies of certain Irish tribes professing to descend from Gauls in the third century A.D.⁵⁾ Zimmer, in his researches on the trade of West Gaul to Ireland in early ages, considers it proved back to the days of Cæsar. 'Gaulish traders,' he says, 'were for ages the only foreigners on Irish soil. Their name (*Gall*, plur. *Gaill*) was the usual expression for 'foreigner' in Gaelic speech.'⁶⁾ We know from Cæsar himself that the Gauls of his day had large fleets of excellent vessels. These were not built in one day. The Gauls must have been sailors for years before attaining to such shipbuilding as Cæsar describes in 55 B.C.

To sum up briefly: in three places Irish tradition assigns the approximate date of the third century B.C. to the 'Orgain Dind Ríg.' It also asserts that at that period there was intercourse between Gaul and South-East Ireland. I now come to the point about chariot-burial.

The story begins with Cobthach, King of Bregia, in Leinster, plotting his brother's death. He had been ill through jealousy and envy and sent for his brother to come to his funeral. "'Well then,' said Cobthach to his Queen and his steward, 'say ye that I am dead, but let none other know it, and let me be put into my chariot with a razor-knife in my hand. My brother will

¹⁾ See *Rev. Celt.* XV, p. 300.

²⁾ See Windisch's edition, pp. 50—53.

³⁾ See *Rev. Celt.* XV, p. 300.

⁴⁾ See Keating vol. I (I. T. S. edit.), p. 187.

⁵⁾ See Eriu IV, p. 208.

⁶⁾ See *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akad.* XV, p. 471.

come to me to bewail me and will throw himself upon me. May-be he will get somewhat from me.' This was done. The chariot is brought out. His brother comes to bewail him. He comes and flings himself down upon Cobthach who plunges the knife into him at the small of his back, so that the point appeared at the top of his heart. Thus Loegaire died."

When we put this passage side-by-side with the plate illustrating the Somme-Bionne burial and the details already given on chariot-burials in East France, we surely are justified in looking for some connection between them. To begin with: as Cobthach was plotting to kill his brother, he would certainly do nothing unusual that would excite suspicion. And Loegaire takes it quite as the ordinary procedure that his brother should be laid in his chariot with his knife at his hand. Cobthach reckons on Loegaire following a recognised etiquette of mourning, which duly happens. They were not inventing anything. They act on a familiar custom. We have been told chariot-burial was for chiefs, and both brothers were kings. If Cobthach was lying on his back with his weapons round him it was easy for him to strike Loegaire as described. In fact, what seems an out-of-the-way and unnecessary plot becomes both probable and possible if based on such a custom as chariot-burial. It was not an Irish custom, as far as I know, to use the chariot in funerals at all. I have not found any other passage like this. Also, the custom on the Continent lasted as we have seen only for two or three centuries and was extinct by 250 B.C. Now the 'Orgain' is never dated later than that by anyone. It contains distinct allusions to Gauls coming to Ireland, and also this remarkable parallel to a Gaulish custom of a distinct character and of a particular period. Taking all this into consideration, I cannot believe that it is all pure literary invention. If it was merely a literary device we should have it adopted into other stories. The only story that I know at all like 'Orgain Dind Ríg' is that of Raghallach and his nephew, told in Eg. 1782, p. 57,¹⁾ and there is no approach to the incident with the chariot. Much as the heroes of the Táin used chariots they never were buried

¹⁾ See O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* I, p. 391.

in them. The set phrase used for their funeral rites makes no allusion to anything like chariot-burial. This is in accordance with the facts of archæology, which prove that the custom was given up long before the time of the Táin, viz., first century B.C. and also that it was not a universal Celtic custom. Furthermore, the scene of the story is laid in South-East Ireland. This would be naturally the place where Gaulish ships would first come to land and where a Gaulish colony would naturally settle. Wexford was the Gaileoin territory. The similarity of names in Wexford and Gaul in Ptolemy's time, second century A.D., can hardly be a chance resemblance. It seems to me there is little doubt that in this passage of 'Orgain Dind Ríg' we have an additional argument for Gaulish influence in Ireland from a very early age and also a proof of the accuracy of a very old tradition. Whether chariot-burial was ever actually carried out in Ireland, or not, it is impossible to say. No case has ever yet been found to my knowledge, but in archæology fresh discoveries may turn up at any moment. It would be more likely from what we know of the Gaileoin through tradition that, if chariot-burial was practised at all in South Leinster, it was very rare. They were a small colony and their separate kingdom was not of long duration. It would be more hopeful to look for a connection between spear-heads in Wexford and in Marne and see if any resemblance can be traced to bear out the tradition of the broad spears brought over by Labraid's 'Gaill.' Should any resemblance be proved it would fit in with the evidence here collected for the story of Loegaire's death deriving from the chariot-burials of East Gaul in the third century B.C.

Since writing the above my attention has been drawn to Mr. G. Coffey's article on 'Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland before the first century,' Proc. R.I.A., vol. 28, Sec. C, no. 4. This valuable paper supplies important evidence on the question of Gaulish spears found in Ireland and, we may say, completes the chain of evidence in a very remarkable manner.

M.D.

THE BLACK PIG'S DYKE AND THE CAMPAIGN OF THE TÁIN BÓ CUAILGNE.

IN May, 1909, a very interesting paper appeared in the Proc. R.I.A. Vol. 27, Sec. C, No. 14, on 'The Black Pig's Dyke ; the ancient boundary fortification of Uladh ' by W. de Vismes Kane.¹ It is a study of an ancient earth-work in the North of Ireland, portions of which still exist, and the general outline of which Mr. Kane has established from old ordnance surveys, local traditions and place-names. At p. 316 of his paper he shows on a Map the course it followed across Ireland from Scarva in the East to Bundoran in the West. A glance at the Map shows that this course was most irregular. In fact, the outline of the whole thing is most unexpected, and, only that Mr. Kane's proofs are very sound, could scarcely be believed.

Mr. Kane's conjecture as to the origin of the Dyke is, that it was built in the second century A.D. when the province of Meath was formed. Against this it may be urged that, if built then, we might expect to find such a dyke to the South of Meath as well as to the North. I have never heard of such a thing and, while it is quite true that the North boundary of Meath did coincide with the Dyke, yet Mr. Kane himself says ' The deepest fosse and steepest side of the rampart face the province of Meath ' (see p. 312). All his evidence points to the fact that the Dyke was built to defend the North against the South or West, so that it is incredible that the partition of Meath was the cause for building the Dyke. He says, ' the southern side of the hills

¹) For further research work on same subject see Proc. R.I.A., vol. 33, sec. C, no. 19.

and heights is always chosen so that the steepest slope of embankment would be against the southern tribes, etc.' (see p. 303).

There is no mention, as far as I know, of such a work in Irish history or romance. We have no definite statement about it anywhere. Nevertheless I venture to think that there are certain passages in one of the great cycles of romance which cannot properly be explained unless this Dyke was already in existence when the events on which this cycle is founded took place. This cycle originated in the century just before or the century just after Christ (see Windisch, Pref. to *Táin*, p. XXXII, and Ridgeway, *Date of first shaping of Cuchullain Saga*, p. 34). I propose to take these passages in order, and show where the course of events seem to have been influenced by the existence of the Dyke. I shall begin at the beginning of the *Táin* itself. To follow my argument clearly, Mr. Kane's Map of the Dyke and the Map of Ireland should be consulted.

First : Medb's army assembled at Cruachan and their objective was Cuailgne. The natural route would apparently be due East across South Leitrim, Cavan and North Louth. Instead of this they make a *détour* to the South and go very much out of their way before entering Louth at all. Why ? It is possible that forests and bogs may have had something to do with it, but these were common in Ireland of that day and, while we have no evidence that they were worse between Cruachan and Cuailgne than elsewhere, we certainly have evidence that such a rampart as the Black Pig's Dyke might have interfered very much with a march straight across country. In order to do so Medb's army would have had to cross the Dyke four times before getting near Cuailgne at all. This would be a sufficient reason for making a *détour*.

Secondly : When we examine the route Medb did take, we find the following facts. After leaving Cruachan she went South by Tuaim Móna (Tumona in Ogulla, parish near Tulsk, Co. Roscommon), by Cúil Sibrinne (Kilcooley, Co. Roscommon), by Badbna (Slieve Banne, Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon), by the Shannon. After crossing the Shannon we find her next in Magh Trega (Moytra in Co. Longford) and Tethba Tuaiscirt (district

round Granard in Co. Longford). Now, why if she wanted to march through Tethba did she not cross somewhere near Carrick-on-Shannon and so march by a much shorter route to Tethba? It was possible to go this way, for when Conall Cearnach fled for his life from Cruachan he fled by Magh Slecht (round Ballymagauran in Co. Leitrim). He must have crossed the Shannon north of Cruachan (see Goire Conaill, *Zeitschr.* I, and *Revue Celt.* XXIII, p. 308, and Dindseanchus LL. 166b. 41). The presence of the Dyke would explain both these passages. Conall Cearnach was seeking shelter behind it; it was his nearest refuge. Medb on the other hand was obliged by its presence to take a longer route to Tethba. It is noteworthy that in marching through Magh Trega and Tethba she skirted the Dyke very closely at its southernmost point. It is true that even then she does not go straight across country. She still keeps Southward and, as far as her route can be identified, went through Westmeath and Meath till we finally find her at Slane on the Boyne. There are so many unknown names in the detailed marching route given in the Táin that it is not possible to be positive about this part of the march. I have here used throughout the list of places given in Windisch's edition of the Táin with the notes and identifications given there (see p. 40). As far as we can say with certainty she never goes inside the line of the Dyke, though at one point very close to it and, if there is any rhyme or reason in her mode of proceeding at all, the existence of the Dyke accounts better than anything else for the peculiar line of march described.

Thirdly: When Medb's army reaches Louth and the fighting begins, it is altogether confined to Muirthemne and Cualgne; that is, to districts belonging to Ulster, but lying outside the line of the Dyke. There is no attempt to ravage Fernmagh (Farney, Co. Monaghan) which had no natural defence in mountains, etc. But it was well inside the Dyke, which here would seem to correspond with the boundary between Fernmagh and Muirthemne. Again, while ravaging Muirthemne, 'the men of Ireland said to MacRoth to go to watch for them to Sliabh Fuait so that the Ulstermen might not come upon them without warning' (see Windisch, *Táin*, p. 603). Here we have it implied

that the Ulster attack would begin from Sliab Fuait. The chief approach to Emain Macha was by the well-known pass through Sliab Fuait, which was one reason for watching it ; but it is clear from the Táin that Medb and her army did not expect to meet the Ulstermen till then. Cuchulainn's resistance was a surprise to them. But they are quite prepared for an attack from the country within the Dyke (which ran up to Sliabh Fuait) and they send their scouts to watch there.

Fourthly : Medb makes a daring raid to Dun Severick and back again. How does she go ? ' Medb marched into Ulster . . . till she reached Magh Cobha . . . marched to Dunseverick ' (see Dindsenchus of Ath-Luan, *Revue Celt.* XV, p. 465). ' Medb wasted Pictland, Cuailgne, land of Conall Mac Amirgin and reached Dunseverick ' (see Egerton 93, 18). Magh Cobha and Pictland represent Co. Down and the east coast of Antrim (see Windisch, Táin, p. 264, note 2). Now the Dyke did not protect Co. Down. It left the way across Carlingford Lough open. Therefore Medb again skirted it south of Slieve Gullion and made her dash on the only districts that lay open to her. She never attempts to go near Emain Macha. The whole object of the Táin was loot, and the Dyke would have been a serious obstacle over which to drive cattle. So Medb never entangles herself inside the Dyke. She gives it a wide berth, and its existence is the best and indeed the only explanation that can be offered for her whole plan of campaign.

There is another passage in the Táin which becomes much more comprehensible if the existence of the Dyke be admitted. I mean the passage where Cuchulainn questions Ibar on the routes of Ulster (see Windisch, Táin, p. 139). ' And this high road which goes past us, in what direction does it go ? ' said the little boy. ' It goes to Áth na Foraíre in Sliabh Fuait,' said Ibar. ' Why is it called Áth na Foraíre ? ' ' A good soldier of the Ulstermen does be watching and guarding there so that there should come no warrior or foreigner to challenge the Ulstermen to fight, but he is the champion who fights for the whole province. If artists go away discontented with the Ulstermen from the province, he it is who offers gifts for the honour of the

province. If artists come to the country, he is the man who protects them . . . ' Throughout this passage it is implied that Ulster begins and ends at Sliab Fuait, at Áth na Foraíre. Ibar says the road from Emain Macha ends there. There is the spot where foreign champions come to challenge Ulster ; not at the Boyne. Yet the southern boundary of Conchobur's province is always given as the Boyne. There seems to be no reason why this particular spot should be singled out for all this unless the Dyke was already in existence. Its presence would at once explain why it was in Sliabh Fuait the watch was kept, and why it was there that foreign visitors were challenged. It was used by Ulster as an inner line of defence, and the kernel of the province lay within it. It is worth noticing in connection with this that Mr. Kane says (p. 303) that remains of wooden sheds and battens of timber have been found on the northern side of the Dyke as if to shelter sentries and guards. If it was patrolled in ancient days, and a watch kept, it is probable that we have the tradition of this preserved in this passage of the Táin.

Again in *Fled Bricrenn* (*Irish Texts* I, p. 275) we find Cuchulainn going from Bricriu's house (near Dundrum, Co. Down) to Cruachan. He is supposed to be in a great hurry, yet he goes 'over Sliabh Fuait and over Magh Breg' before turning westward. Here again the Dyke would have interfered with a more direct route, say by Clones and Belturbet, and its presence would account for his taking this course. There is no doubt that the ancient high road to Armagh ran through Sliabh Fuait. In the Cuchulainn cycle it is certainly the accepted route. In *Tochmarc Emire* (*Zeitschrift* III, p. 240) Cuchulainn travels from Emain Macha to Lusk between 'Sliabh Fuait to the South and Sliabh Cuillend to the East to Dorcel (Forkhill) between them . . . ' In *Aided Guill ocus Gairb* (*Revue Celt.* XIV, p. 414) Conchobar says, in discussing the road to Cuailgne, ' 'tis not into Glenn Righe that the hosts go, but into Sliabh Fuait straight ahead.' In *Mesca Uladh* (*Todd Lectures* I, p. 14) the Ulstermen come down from Dún dá benn through Co. Antrim, and then from Ollarbe (Six-mile-water River) go 'into Magh Macha, into Sliabh Fuait, into Áth na Foraíre' and so to Muirthemne. Whether

they were going South, or South-west, or West, this was the one exit from Ulster in the East. The whole country from Sliabh Fuait across to the Shannon cannot have been totally impassable. Yet I can find no mention as far as I have gone of any one going south from Emain Macha, say, through Farney or through Cavan. This seems to need the existence of the Dyke as explanation. It is quite true that in the middle ages there seems to have been the same lack of routes, but it is perfectly possible that the building of the Dyke determined the course of the routes to Ulster from a very early period, and that even down to Elizabethan times it was a sufficiently formidable obstacle to prevent entry to Ulster except by the recognized high-road.

We have seen that in Tochmarc Emire, Cuchulainn passes Forkhill. Just here is situated the Dorsey, the great fortified camp, which Mr. Kane thinks was once linked with the Black Pig's Dyke. Its size and strength show how jealously the Sliabh Fuait pass was once guarded. We have no hint in the Táin of its being used by the Ulstermen, but I think there is possibly a reference to it in the 'Caithréim Conghail Chláiringhnigh' (Irish Texts Soc. V, p. 10). The Ulstermen are going from Emain to Teamhair; 'so they came to Teamhair . . . It is thus Teamhair was at that time: every provincial king had there splendid houses and lands. These came to the rath of the Ulstermen ('Ráith Uladh') which is called 'Ráith na ndoirseorach' at this time. Their reason for so doing was that they might partake of their first night's feast on their arrival in Teamhair . . . The passage as it stands clearly implies that 'Ráith na ndoirseorach' was the Ulster house in Teamhair. But I can find no mention of such a name in Petrie's description of the ancient buildings there. In 'Cath Maighe Rath' we are told that the provincial houses in Teamhair were 'an Long Mumhan, an Long Laighen, an Caisir Chonnacht, an Eachrais Uladh.' On the other hand we have this huge rath on the road between Emain and Teamhair, whose name 'The Dorsey' is a corruption of 'Doirseorach.' O'Donovan says in his MS. of the Ordnance Survey (Co. Armagh, No. 1, April 22nd, 1835); 'the name of the townland is 'dorsa . . . the peasantry sometimes call it 'Baile na ndorsa.' This is

very close to the name as given in the *Caithréim*. It is possible that the passage is corrupt, or that something has been left out or put in, and that 'Ráith na ndoirseorach' was passed on the road to Teamhair. Unfortunately the passage as it stands proves nothing definite, but it is possible that originally it did refer to the Dorsey, though the meaning is now altered. It may be noted here that Canon Lett says (*Journal R.S.A.I.* Vol. 8, p. 14, 1898) 'close to the east of the Dorsey we still find a spot called 'Silver Ford' or 'Silver Bridge,' and he quotes a passage from the *Four Masters* referring to Bél Átha an airgit on the Sliabh Fuait road. Whether this ford could have been the ancient Áth na Foraire there is nothing to show, but, at all events, it is interesting to know that some ford did exist close to the Dorsey, the ancient 'gates of Ulster.'

Now, if the Black Pig's Dyke does date from before the time of the Táin, when could it have been erected? I venture to think that it is a very ancient erection indeed and would be inclined to attribute it to the Bronze age (circa 1500—500 B.C.) for the following reasons :

First : The Bronze age in Ireland, judging from archæological remains, was of long duration and its civilization was of an advanced type for that age in Europe. It was then that the Irish gold mines were worked, the dolmens built, the gold crescents and bronze weapons manufactured. The people were quite sufficiently organized to construct great works, especially earthen ones. These do not require a highly civilized society or great technical skill.

Secondly : We have no mention anywhere in any written document of such a work being built. Yet the construction of such an extensive rampart could hardly pass unnoticed. It must have been built before any of the existing records were put together. Like cremation it must have belonged to an earlier stage of society. All the cremated burials in Ireland belong to the Bronze age, and all the burials described in Irish literature are of a later date. They are Iron age burials. The Bronze age has left far more traces in Ireland than the La Tène period

of the Iron age, so that it is not unreasonable to credit it with the largest earth-works in the country.

Thirdly : The local legends about the Dyke are derived from the story ' The Fate of the Children of Turenn ' (see Mr. Kane's paper, p. 324). This story belongs to the oldest cycle of Irish literature, viz., that connected with the Tuatha de Danann, which precedes the Cuchulainn or Táin cycle. I think it is noteworthy that local tradition should associate the Dyke with the most ancient stories we have got and not with Finn Mac Cumail or any other recent hero.

Fourthly : Admitting that the Dyke existed in the time of the Táin and influenced the story, the fact that it was already ancient and a familiar landmark would account for its not being specifically described, even though utilized by the Ulstermen of the Táin and avoided by their enemies.

Fifthly : Canon Lett says in his paper on the Dorsey (Journal R.S.A.I. VIII, pp. 1. 2, 1898) ' everything about it indicates its extreme antiquity. For example, the stream on the east of it has in the lapse of centuries altered its course and cut almost right through the walls.'

To sum up : The evidence I have collected here is very incomplete, but, as far as it goes, I think it points to the Dyke and the Dorsey being much older than hitherto supposed. I can find no evidence against their antiquity and I think there is some ground for believing that these earth-works already existed in the first century of our era when the events narrated in the Táin Bó Cuailgne took place.

